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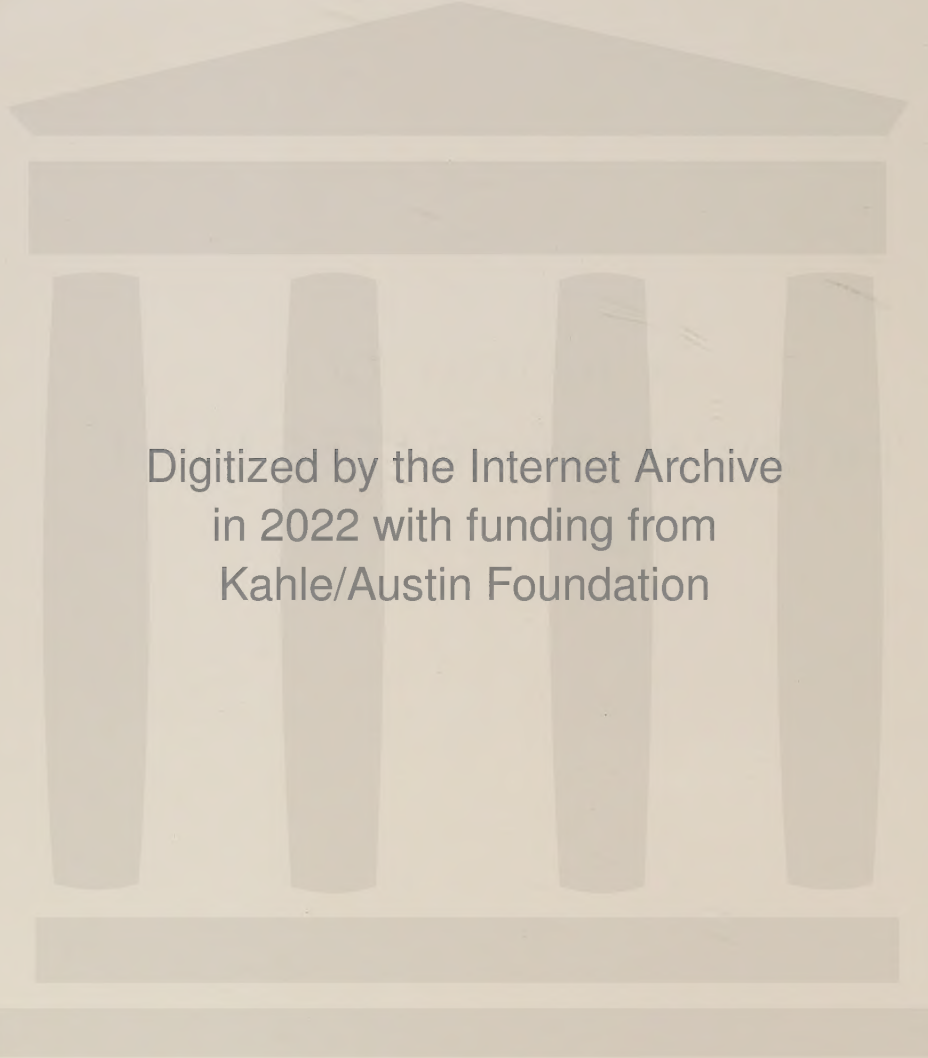
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A HISTORY OF
FRENCH ARCHITECTURE

FROM 1494 TO 1661



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A HISTORY OF FRENCH ARCHITECTURE

FROM THE REIGN OF CHARLES VIII
TILL THE DEATH OF MAZARIN

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BY THE AUTHOR AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS



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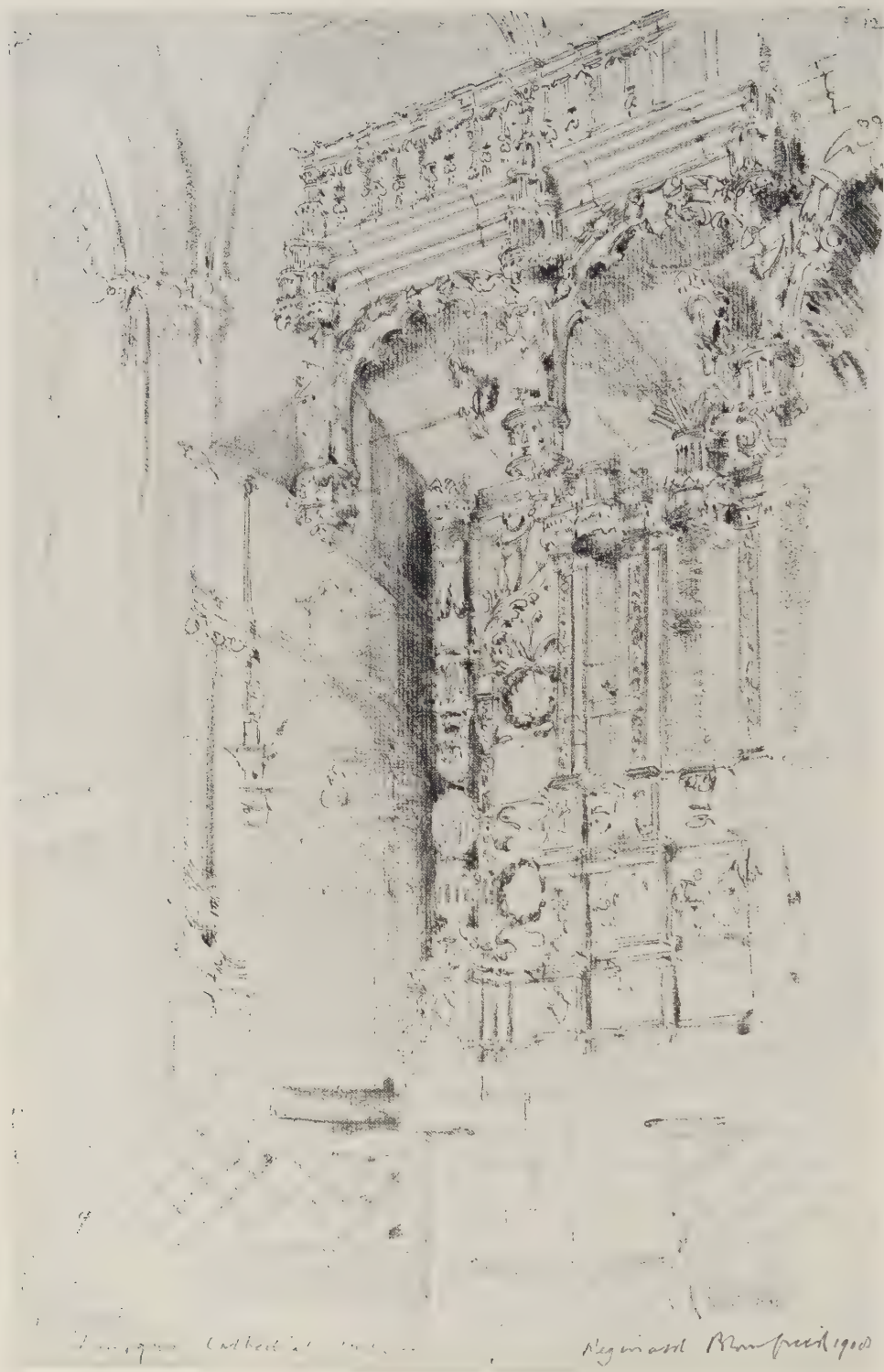
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ERRATA

P. 8, line 12 from below, *for* Rideaux *read* Rideau.

P. 8, line 10 from below, and on opposite plate, *for* Bruges *read* Bourges.



THE JUBÉ, LIMOGES CATHEDRAL (P. 7)

[R. B. del



A History of French Architecture from the reign of Charles VIII till the death of Mazarin

CHAPTER XI

CHURCH-BUILDING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE END OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

SO far we have followed the development of neo-classic art in France through the sixteenth century, and have traced the gradual establishment of its predominance in civil and domestic architecture; but what had happened meanwhile in the churches? We are here face to face with more complex conditions, because the treatment of the church did not depend on the taste and temperament of the individual, but was influenced by a deep-rooted tradition. Under such conditions it was inevitable that the attitude of church builders should be one of strong and tenacious conservatism. Long after the details of Gothic had been abandoned the traditional plan and even construction were adhered to, and few facts in the study of architecture are more suggestive than the illogical persistence of the Gothic tradition in church building long after the conditions under which it had grown up had ceased to exist. That there was no real life in it is shown by the gross and irrational details into which it ultimately degenerated; but its survival was so general throughout France in the sixteenth century that no account of the architecture of that period would be complete without some reference to this last flicker of mediaevalism. As compared with the great church building eras of the Middle Ages, new churches were of course very rare, and though some interesting experiments in design are to be found in additions to existing churches, they are not important enough to constitute a class by themselves, apart from what was being done on a much more considerable scale in domestic architecture. Yet there is much that is interesting in the ecclesiastical architecture of this century, and here, more than anywhere, is clearly visible the prolonged struggle between the old and the new.

Just outside the south-eastern corner of France, one entirely new church and monastery was built early in the sixteenth century, the

very remarkable Church of Brou,¹ near Bourg, in the south-eastern corner of Burgundy. There was no question here of any addition, the church was new from its foundation to its topmost finial. Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, desired to have a memorial to her husband, Philibert, Duke of Savoy; and after negotiations with Jean Perréal had been broken off, in the year 1513 she made an agreement with Louis van Boghem, of Malines, to design the masonry of the church and superintend its construction at a salary of five hundred livres a year, the Duchess undertaking that, if he were taken prisoner on his way from Flanders to Brou, she would pay his ransom and all expenses to which he might be put. Van Boghem got out his design and the works were started. Everything went well at first. Van Boghem's wages were raised, and he was further commissioned to design all the wood-work and glazing, and also the tombs and altars in the church. This he undertook to do on condition that the Duchess kept her promises and paid him his arrears. By letters patent of 1517 she agreed to pay him one thousand livres as soon as he had completed what he had in hand. In 1528, in order to encourage him to complete,² the Duchess agreed to pay him a premium if he completed the church within a certain time. According to Van Boghem, he kept his agreement, with the addition of a stone spire "de merveilleux importance" and a cloister in ten bays. Any one else, he said, would have taken a year over this work, but he did it in seven months, though he had eight men down with the plague. It appears from the report sent by Van Boghem and the Prior to Margaret of Austria in 1528 that by that date the church was not far enough completed to take the tombs. The vaulting of the side chapels and aisle was finished, and Van Boghem hoped to complete one bay of the nave that winter; this would leave three bays yet to do, and the west door to be raised from eight to nine feet. After this there was the jubé to be put up, "qui sera triomphant et fort riche pour les beaux ouvrages et foliages qui y sont," and Van Boghem offered, if necessary, to stay at Brou for the winter instead of returning to Malines as usual, or at any rate only to absent himself for three or four months. Margaret of Austria died in 1530, and it appears that Van Boghem

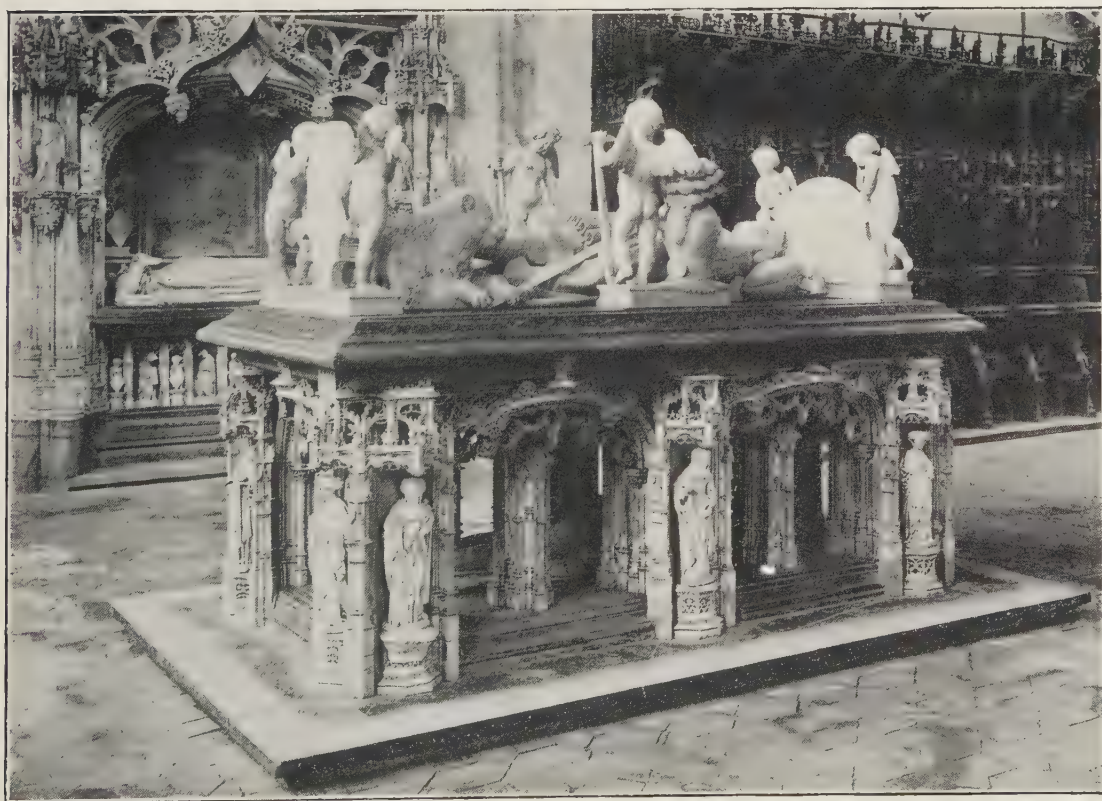
¹ For the particulars of the church and tombs at Brou I am indebted to an article in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts," 1872, ii, 170-176, by M. Houday, who gives the text of the agreements between Margaret of Austria, Van Boghem, and Meyt, of Van Boghem's report, and of his petition to Margaret's executors.

² "Pour donner cœur au dict Van Loys de diligenter la perfection des dicts ouvrages."



[N. D. photo.]

THE JUBÉ: BROU (P. 2)



[N. D. photo.]

TOMB OF PHILIBERT LE BEAU: BROU (P. 4)

finished his work; though he did not get paid for it till 1533, when he made his humble petition to the executors of the Duchess that they would pay him his lawful claim for 4,034 livres. The executors paid him 1,500 livres, which the unfortunate man was said to have accepted "amiably and of his own good will," probably fearing summary vengeance if he pressed his claims any further. After Margaret's death it was found that the wet came into the church, and a certain Philippe Laine, master mason of Antwerp, prepared a model showing how this might be dealt with. This perhaps accounts for the executor's delay in paying Van Boghem. The Duchess left her pictures to the church of Brou, but her successor bought these in, and with the proceeds Bernard van Orley was commissioned in 1535, for 1,200 livres, to paint for the altar "ung beau exquis et puissant tableau de bois de Dennemarke."

It is evident from the accounts that Van Boghem was the designer as well as the builder of the church. He made his "pourtraict" both of the building and of the tombs, and he superintended their execution from start to finish. Both in general design and in details he adhered strictly to late Flemish Gothic of a rather peculiar kind, for the design is curiously unequal. The west façade is about as bad an example of Gothic architecture as it is possible to find. The three triangular lights and the circle in the gable are really hideous, and the design shows no sort of instinct for composition. The interior, on the other hand, is well lit, quiet, and dignified, and the choir is attractive in the spacious simplicity of its general treatment, acting as a background and counter-foil to the exquisite delicacy of its detail. In fact the closer Van Boghem gets into touch with his detail, the more assured and confident his handiwork. The three tombs are executed in Carrara marble of a very beautiful quality, and the lace-like tracery looks as if it were carved in ivory. Margaret of Austria would have done well to have left the whole of the monument to the inimitable craftsmanship of Van Boghem, but she had a favourite sculptor at Brussels, a certain Conrad Meyt,¹ who was entrusted with all the important figure-work of the tombs. In 1526 an agreement was entered into by Margaret with "Conrad Meyt, tailleur d'ymages," stipulating that for a salary of

¹ Meyt came from Brussels to Malines in 1514, when Margaret gave him fifty livres for his services, and to help him in his marriage. In 1518 he received forty "philippes d'or" for two Hercules in copper, one in wood, and two portraits of the Duchess in wood. In the same year he made her the model of a wooden tower for her cabinet, and a stag's head to go over a fire-place. In 1519 he made two wax figures of Adam and Eve.

300 livres a year (Van Boghem's was 500) Meyt was to go from Malines to Brou, and there was to do all the sculpture required according to the "*pourtraict pour ce fait par le dict maistre Van Boghem.*" The work he was to do is stated in detail: the recumbent figure of Philibert of Savoy with the lion at his feet, and the six figures of children standing round him, on the slab; also the figure of the Duke, naked, below, "*selon le portraict.*" This figure was to be in alabaster. He was also to do the recumbent figure of the Duchess with a greyhound at her feet, with four children, and below the representation of her dead body in alabaster; also the figure of Margaret of Bourbon, mother of Philibert, with four children surrounding it. Lastly he was to make "the virtues, and other details necessary for the said tombs." Meyt undertook to complete within four years, Van Boghem finding him three workmen inclusive of Conrad Meyt's brother. The Duchess was to find all marble and alabaster, and when the work was completed it was to be inspected by "*maitres a ce congnoissans,*" who were to report whether or not the contract was duly carried out. Meyt's work, also, is very unequal. The "*gisants,*" or recumbent figures, particularly those of Margaret of Austria, are admirable.¹ So, too, are the Virtues, but the amorini standing on the slab, round the figure of Duke Philibert, are mannered and sentimental, their forms over emphasized and articulated, and neither those of children or boys; nor do they show any consciousness of the idea of the monument as designed by Van Boghem. Meyt was an Italianized Fleming, but very imperfectly Italianized; the tense, hard sentiment of Flemish art still clung to him in spite of his effort to show himself a son of the Renaissance. The result is an unhappy discord between the work of the architect and the sculptor. While Meyt had set his heart beyond the Alps, Van Boghem was still dreaming of his home in the Netherlands and of the dying art of the Middle Ages.

The church at Brou was perhaps the last complete effort of pure Gothic in France and its borders, but a great number of additions were made to older buildings. At Nevers, for example, the fine south tower of the cathedral begun in 1509, and completed in 1528, is entirely Gothic. In 1502 Martin Chambiges was summoned from Sens to build the west front of the cathedral at Troyes, and his designs were adopted in preference to those of Jehan Gailde, or Gailda, who made

¹ This tomb is the one under the arch between the choir and the north chapel. The lower figure, with its profusion of loose hair, is unusually beautiful and pathetic—a welcome change from the horrible figures usually found in such monuments.

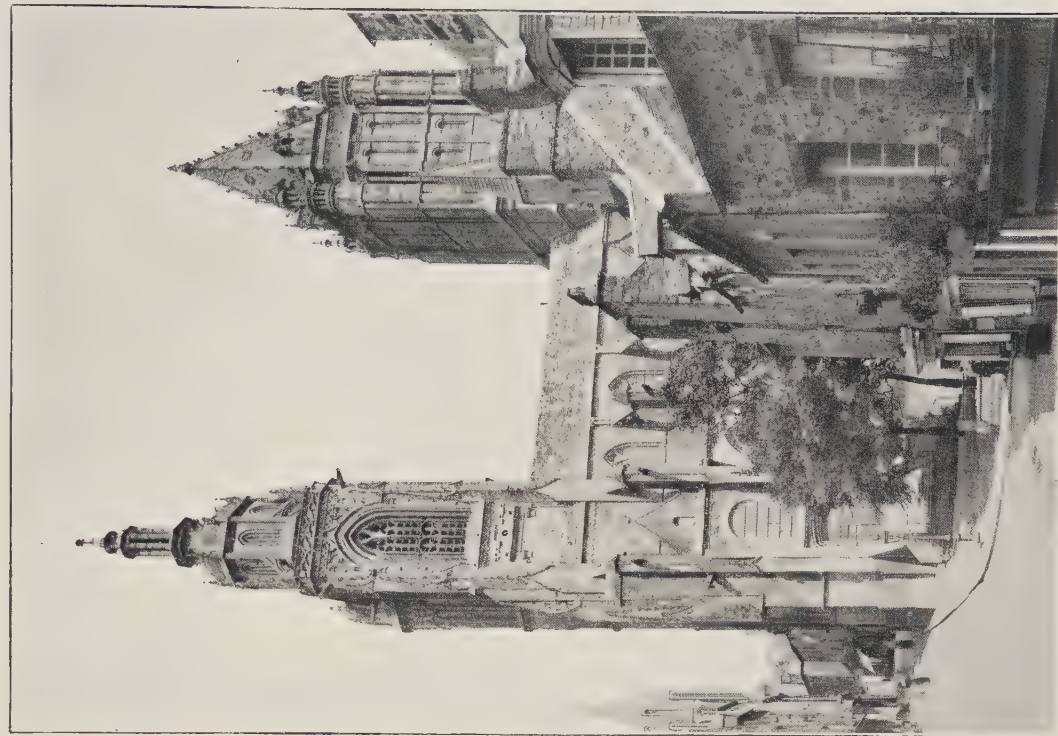
the wonderful jubé in the Church of the Madeleine at Troyes (1508-17). Chambiges superintended the work in a somewhat casual manner till the year 1518, when he resigned in favour of his son-in-law. The work was only partly completed, and there is not a trace of the Renaissance in the design, which is in late Gothic, boldly and effectively treated. There was a great fire at Troyes in 1524, the town was to a large extent rebuilt soon afterwards, and is in consequence very rich in late Gothic. There are good examples in St. Nizier (1521-31), the Madeleine, St. Jean and St. Nicholas, and St. Martin, and perhaps the finest sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century glass to be found in France. The Gothic tradition was perhaps more vital here than anywhere else, for there can be no doubt that its church builders in the sixteenth century knew very well what they were about. Gothic was so familiar that they were able to refine upon its details, giving, as it were, an abstract expression of certain well-known features of earlier styles; but after the coming of Dominique Florentin to Troyes, in the middle of the century, this was forgotten. In three generations the tradition was to be wholly lost, and the builders vainly struggled to recover their dim recollections of how their fathers and grandfathers had done these things.

But the Gothic tradition in church-building died hard in France as in England. Mediaeval plans and principles of construction, the nave, aisles, and transepts, the choir and its arches, the vaulting, the buttress, and the flying buttress remained in use after the details of Gothic architecture had been abandoned; and nowhere is the shallowness of the early Renaissance in France more clearly shown than in this attempt to clothe the traditional facts of mediaeval construction in an alien dress. No attempt was made, as yet, to deal with architecture according to its logical intention, the utmost ambition of these men was to plaster a more or less correct version of some classical detail on to the unoffending surface of their building. Not only had they lost the spirit of mediaeval architecture, but they had even forgotten the structural purpose of the Gothic features that they did retain, as may be seen from buildings such as Beauvais, where the flying buttresses scarcely stand up by themselves, much less support the vaulting of the choir. Moreover, they must have built badly. The church of Notre Dame at Niort, begun in 1491 and completed in 1535, simply and suddenly collapsed on 15th November 1910.

Throughout the sixteenth century there were in fact two currents of thought sometimes combining in imperfect fusion, more often

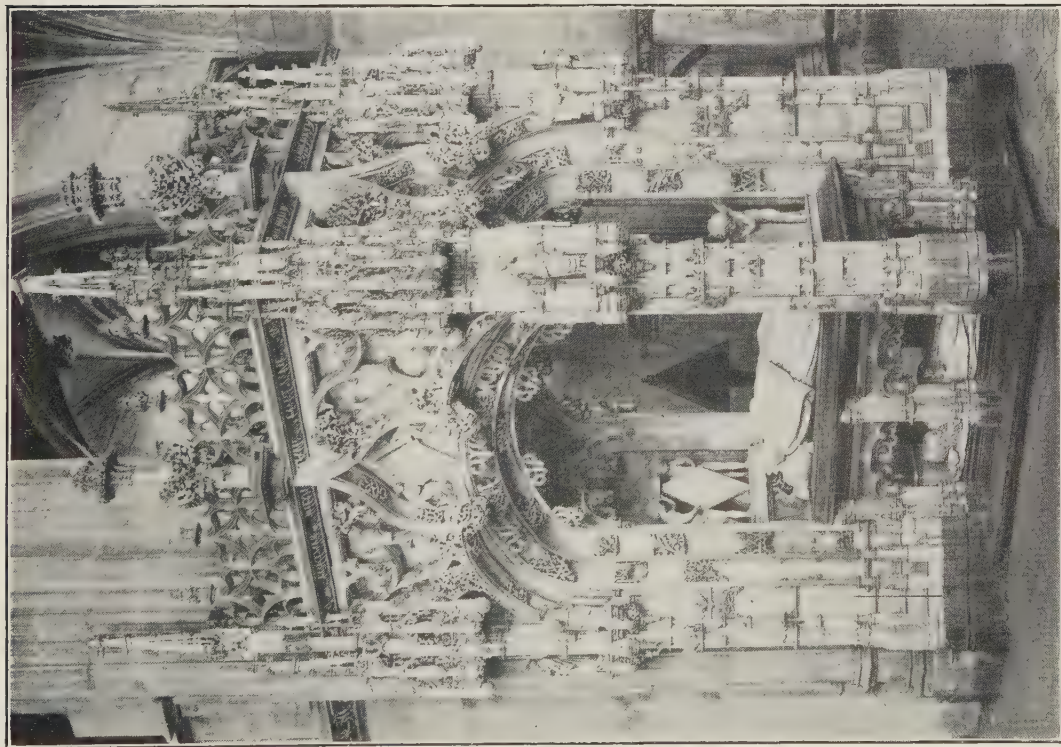
directly antagonistic. For many generations building had been in the hands of the master builders, and these men were so engrained in the old traditions, and so enamoured of their prescriptive rights, that they were by no means disposed to abandon their familiar methods in favour of the new ideas introduced by the Italians, and strenuously advocated by the new generation of architects. There appears to have existed much the same latent opposition between the builders and architects as there was in the following century between the guilds of painters and the free artists. The result was that in buildings where no architect such as De l'Orme was employed, buildings which must have formed the large majority, the tendency was to slip back to the older manner. The Church of St. Pierre at Coutances, and particularly the west tower, illustrate the state of mind of the master-builder. This church was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, all in late Gothic, with the exception of the octagonal lantern at the crossing, with its idiotic designs of sixteen Corinthian columns clinging to the inner face of the lantern. The west tower is square in plan with angle buttresses, and a balustrade with bad flamboyant tracery. Above this is an octagon storey with flying buttresses. This storey has an ogee-shaped stone dome, carved on the outside to resemble tiles as in the west spire of the cathedral, and terminating in an octagon lantern all in stone. On the north side of the east buttress is incised in Gothic letters "Jehan Le Breton," and the clock is dated 1550. The details are perplexing in the last degree. On the west front there are what look like thirteenth-century caps, but the building proceeds without interruption to fifteenth-century detail. There are bold and lofty arches with eccentric tracery and barbaric cusping below the balustrade. The flying buttresses have crude pointed arches, a sort of last gasp of Gothic before the appearance of Renaissance details in the lantern. The question presents itself, was this tower an old tower remodelled and completed by Le Breton in the sixteenth century, or did Le Breton build the whole of the tower and use up his whole collection of details, old as well as new, in the building? The crudeness of the Gothic detail makes one suspect that the latter is the explanation.

Political conditions were against the spread of the new manner, so far as church building was concerned. Religious enthusiasm was divided between the Huguenots, who hated the old ceremonial and its environment, and the Catholics, who still clung to the church architecture that had for centuries given expression to their ideals. In



N. D. photo.

ST. PIERRE: COUTANCES (P. 6)



[N. D. photo.]

TOMB OF MARGARET OF AUSTRIA: BROU (P. 3)

matters of art the instincts of the Huguenots were mainly iconoclastic, and thus the only positive and moving force in this matter tended to maintain the architecture of the past. In fact, it was not till the return of the Jesuits in 1603 that an entirely fresh factor came into play.

Long after Renaissance detail had established itself elsewhere, Gothic continued to be employed in the churches. The transepts at Beauvais (1550-1575-78), excepting the doors, or the north door of Evreux (1525), or the transepts and choir of Limoges, show little trace of the new manner. The north transept of the cathedral of Limoges is a remarkable example of late Gothic. The details are rather harsh, owing to the granite of which it is built, but it is a fine and striking design. The façade was built in 1517-30, and within three years of its completion the great stone organ gallery at the west end, in the most intricate and elaborate manner of the earlier French Renaissance, was built by French masons, as it must have been, on account of its amazing ingenuity of construction, and carved by Italians.¹ The choir of St. Pierre at Caen, and that of Tillières (1534-46), in spite of their detail and the peculiarity of their flat vaulting, are Gothic in principle. Possibly the nearest approach to original design is to be

¹ The date on a tablet on a baluster on the south side of the gallery is 1533, and it is supposed to have been built for Jean de Langeac, or Langennes, between 1532 and 1541. The gallery occupies the full width of the nave, 36 ft. 9 in. In the centre is a wide entrance flanked by engaged candelabrum columns, between which are niches with delicate canopy work, divided by pilasters. Above is an overhanging canopy the full length of the front, the original groining of which has been cut away, leaving a canted soffit, in front of which are six pendants with cusped arches forming a sort of fringe below the gallery front. These pendants have niches for statues formed on the front with elaborate canopies. They are about twelve inches in diameter, and at least five feet high. There is no abutment to the end pendants, and it is a marvel that they stand up at all. A moulded string runs along the front under the elaborate balustrade, and at the two ends are stone newel staircases with wreathed strings. The figure subjects above the granite plinth are taken from the Labours of Hercules, such as Hercules and Geryon, Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, but in the background of one of the panels appears a church steeple. All the constructional parts of this gallery are in granite, the carved work being in clunch, and it is an astonishing *tour de force* of masonry, ranking with works such as the jubé of the Madeleine at Troyes, and of St. Etienne du Mont in Paris, to which we have no parallel in England. From an examination I made of the construction, it appears that the pendants are hollowed out inside and are suspended to the granite stones which form the front part of the gallery floor and which run back a considerable distance, and are presumably bolted down in some way at the back, as there is all the weight of the stone balustrade to be carried as well. The pendants are carried up between these flooring stones, forming the piers of the balustrade. The organ gallery at Caudebec is somewhat similar in construction, and of about the same date. De Langennes' tomb is under the arch of the north-east bay of the apse.

found in the belfries and upper stages of towers, such as that of St. Antoine at Loches (1519-30), and the west towers of the cathedral of Tours, particularly the southern one (1537-47). Although these are crowded with incongruous detail, they are picturesque in outline and the genuine expression of an unfamiliar motive.

Church-building of the sixteenth century, apart from the innumerable examples of detail alterations, falls into three main categories, either (1) churches such as St. Gervais at Gisors, where designs for the façade on a comprehensive scale were attempted; or (2) survivals, such as the church of Carnac, which curiously suggests the Laudian Gothic of certain Northamptonshire churches such as Apethorpe, and Nassington near Peterborough; or (3) churches such as St. Eustache, and St. Etienne du Mont at Paris, where, though all the detail is Renaissance of a sort, the informing spirit is still unmistakably Gothic. The cathedral or church of St. Gervais at Gisors is a difficult problem. The choir and eastern part of the church date from the fifteenth century, though there is a date, 1545, in the fine grisaille window in the south aisle of the choir. The nave, which has two aisles on each side, with clerestory windows above the aisles, has piers carrying the arcades and groining, which are fluted, twisted, and octagonal, and in one case have large A's, and the ermines of Anne of Brittany. The groining is a sort of *lierne* vaulting, with ribs growing out of the shafts, as usual in late work, and pendants at the intersections. This part appears to date from the reign of Louis XII. At the west end, inside, there is a remarkable open newel staircase (1570) with pilasters and running entablatures, and a composition of a colossal Corinthian order, the latter dating from the eighteenth century, and probably belonging to the work at the west end, above the central doorway, which bears the date 1707. The inside is confusing enough, but outside, on the west front, two or three distinct attempts seem to have been made to remodel the whole façade. The centre doorway has canopies of late Gothic on the buttresses, and a deep recessed and coffered arch over the entrance, not unlike that of the ruined chapel of Notre Dame des Vertus at Auxerre, and dating from the latter part of the sixteenth century. The north tower, which has fine figures in canopies high up on the wall, and heads in medallions, appears to be earlier than the centre part. Lastly, at the south-west angle there is a vast tower never completed, and of uncommon design and workmanship, which it is exceeding difficult to date. The Doric order and entablature of the lower order might date from Henri II, so might possibly the deep recessed oval window set in a



Photo.

CHOIR VAULT: TILLIÈRES (P. 7)

[Mon. Hist.]



Photo.]

[Mon. Hist.

ORGAN GALLERY: CAUDEBEC (p. 7)

cartouche on the second storey on the south side. But the pulvinated frieze with openwork carving in the entablature of the second order seems a hundred years later. Palustre assigns the work to the Grappins of Gisors, whom he places among the fathers of modern French architecture, on no authority, that I am aware of, but certain scattered references in the building accounts of the church, which were unearthed by Laborde some sixty years ago.¹ The registers of the place start with the year 1464, and an entry in 1505 refers to "les grans et somptueux ouvrages qu'on fait de present en cette église," yet Robert Grappin does not appear on the scene till 1523, when he receives five sous a day as mason, in succession to a certain Robert Jumel, who had been at work here since 1497. Grappin, who is described as a "maistre maçon de l'ouvrage de ladite église," also contracted for the images over the north door, and had a son Jacques among his assistants, but he clearly could not have been the architect, for in 1528 masons were summoned from Beauvais and Andelys to inspect the church and specify "la forme de l'édifice";² and in 1536 Jehan Coulle of Rouen undertook to supply the figures on the north tower, each eight to nine feet high, at "4 livres x sous" apiece. A Jean Grappin appears in the accounts for 1537-9 as "tailleur et imaginier." In 1558 he is called "maistre maçon de ladite église"; and in 1569-70 he journeyed to Vernon to select the stone for the pulpit and choir enclosure. In the latter year he is described as "conducteur de l'œuvre de cette église," and in this capacity he constructed the curious stone staircase leading to the organ gallery at the west end. He was evidently a skilful mason, but his detail in the choir justifies Laborde's criticism that he was merely a feeble imitator of Goujon, and an artist of little ability. A Jehan Grappin in 1598 receives, with a certain Bocquet, a small payment for repairs to the pulpit, and this is the last mention of any member of the Grappin family. The scanty evidence that there is proves that Robert and Jean at any rate were master masons in charge of the building operations, and that there were at least three generations of them so engaged; but there is no authority for the ingenious fancy of Palustre that they were architects of ability buried in unmerited oblivion. Not only were masons summoned from Beauvais,

¹ Laborde published his notes in a small brochure entitled "La Tour du Prisonnier et l'Eglise de St. Gervais et St. Protais," Paris, 1849. Laborde found nothing to admire here, and wrote: "Je n'ai vu à Gisors qu'un exemple déplorable de la confusion des styles . . . le choc le plus violent, dont j'ai été témoin, entre l'art naturel et l'art importé."

² Laborde, 20.

to draw up the specifications for the general design, but when it came to the later work of the south-west tower the devis or specification is not entrusted to Grappin at all, but to a certain Adrien de Montheroude, who contracted for its execution in 1589, and whose work was passed by Gilles Roussel, master mason, in 1591. One would willingly know more of de Montheroude, if he really designed the tremendous fragment of the south-west tower, one of the most impressive examples of late sixteenth-century architecture in France. As for the Grappins, their claims are as shadowy as those of the Bacheliers of Toulouse. The confusion of design shown in the west front of Gisors is suggestive of the uncertainty of aim that still prevailed in the provinces, in spite of all that had been done in Paris and its neighbourhood by the architects of the Valois kings.

The survivals of Gothic in France are even more curious than they are in England. The church of Carnac, for example, is an extraordinary mixture of styles. The entrance on the north side is under a porch with an open canopy, a little reminding one of the fountain of Trinity College, Cambridge. Inside there are two wide aisles with wood barrel roofs on arcades, carried by what at first sight appear to be Norman columns, but which on closer examination are seen to date from the early part of the seventeenth century. The barrel ceilings are painted in bold panels with figure subjects. There is a fine pulpit of wrought iron of the seventeenth century, and certain screens to the choir which appear to belong to the eighteenth century, but were in fact made early in the nineteenth. Finally, to complete this amazing anachronism, at the west end there is a stone octagonal spire on a square tower, with square pinnacles and small flying buttresses at the angles, which, except for the balustrade, might date from the fifteenth century. The actual date on the west entrance is 1639. It is a typical instance of what was habitual in provinces remote from Paris. The church of St. Gildas at Auray is another example. This church (1636) has a nave with a semicircular barrel vault in plaster over arcades of pointed arches in four bays, springing from cylinder columns with Tuscan caps and Ionic bases. At the west end is a good organ gallery on seven black marble columns, and there is an important altar-piece (1658) with the usual elaborate design of columns, balusters, entablatures and broken pediments, with marble, figures, ornaments, and gilding, a good deal over emphasized. Costly works such as this altar-piece were probably entrusted to sculptors of reputation in Paris or elsewhere, but the church itself with its strange anomalies of design was probably left



[Mon. Hist.]

ST. GERVAIS: GISORS (P. 8)

[Photo.]

entirely to the local builder, and there are many others scattered about in Brittany which show the invincible tenacity with which the Bretons clung to the tradition of their forefathers, and a curious barbaric instinct in design,—the calvary and ossuary at Saints Thégonnec are instances—utterly alien to the temperament of the Frenchman of the northern centre. The Parisian might get as far into Brittany as Vannes, but he was not to be tempted to cross the sea of Morbihan to Locmariaquer and the wilds of Carnac.

Carnac is clearly a survival, outside the main stream of development. But there are churches of some historical, though no great architectural, importance, in which the old and the new meet with curious results; Renaissance detail of a sort is used throughout, and yet in the general treatment there is a throwback to the motives of much earlier work. Such for example are the deeply recessed arch of the west entrance to St. Michel at Dijon (1537),¹ or the side entrance to the church of St. Michel at Tonnerre.² The details are in the accepted neo-classic of the time, and yet the impression left is rather that of a Romanesque archway—and the same half conscious instinct appears in plans and construction. St. Pierre at Tonnerre is an instance. Here the apse and part of the choir is fifteenth-century, but the rest of the church is a deliberate attempt to translate old forms into the terms of the new manner. The principal entrance is by a double doorway in the south transept, under a recessed semicircular arch, with a sort of cusping or scalloping to the inner sides. This appears to date from the time of Henri II as the cipher of that King and Diane de Poitiers appears among the details. The north transept was built in 1590,³ and to this date belongs the Corinthian order used for the buttresses, with gargoyles as at Fontainebleau, and a large balustrade surmounting a modillion cornice. The interior, except for the apse and the west tower, is really a square space divided into three aisles, the bays of

¹ This archway is remarkable for a shaft carried up through the soffit of the arch and surmounted by an open stone lantern. Palustre, "L'Arch. de la Renaissance," 264, puts the date at 1551-64 and attributes it to Sambin, but there appears to be no ground for this. It is just possible that Sambin might have helped in the sculpture of the "Last Judgement" in the tympanum, but it is known from an entry in the parish archives for July 1551, that Nicolas de la Court, imager of Douai, was employed to carve this for seventy livres tournois, according to the model to be supplied him ("L'Art Français Primitif," 112).

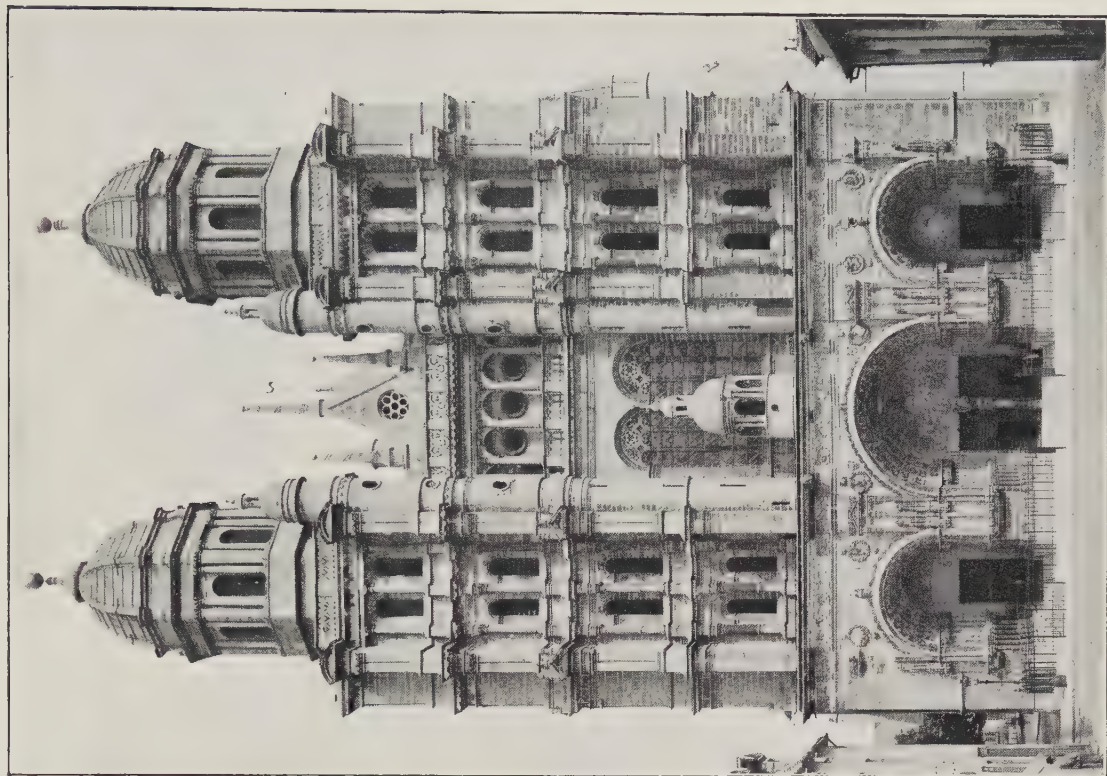
² The church has been injured by fire, and except for the west tower, the windows, and the doorway, appears to date from the fourteenth century. The windows have tracery without cusping. The dates on the tower are 1620 and 1621.

³ Inscription over entrance.

which are vaulted with quadripartite groining, but in the centre and eastern bay of the middle aisle, lierne ribs are used, having no relation to the actual vaulting. The new manner was used for details, but had in no sort of way penetrated into the heart of the design. Indeed, the tenacity of the old tradition may be gauged from the church of St. Pierre at Auxerre. The west front of this is dated 1648 and 1658, the rest of the building, except the tower, appears to date from the early part of the seventeenth century. Inside, the church consists of one long nave in seven bays, with arches on either side. The nave arcade is formed with semicircular arches on cylindrical columns with Corinthian capitals and bases. Flat pilasters run up from the abacus of the capitals to the springing of the groining, the whole space between the pilasters and up to the groining being occupied by three-light windows in two divisions. There is tracery without cusping to the windows, and the groining is in lierne vaulting with free-stone filling in, springing from the ribs. The peculiarity of the church is that, apart from the groining, there is not a single mediaeval detail in it, except the leaves at the angles of the bases, and yet the plan and organic idea of a mediaeval church are so faithfully followed, that the impression at first sight is that of a rather fine Romanesque church with later additions.

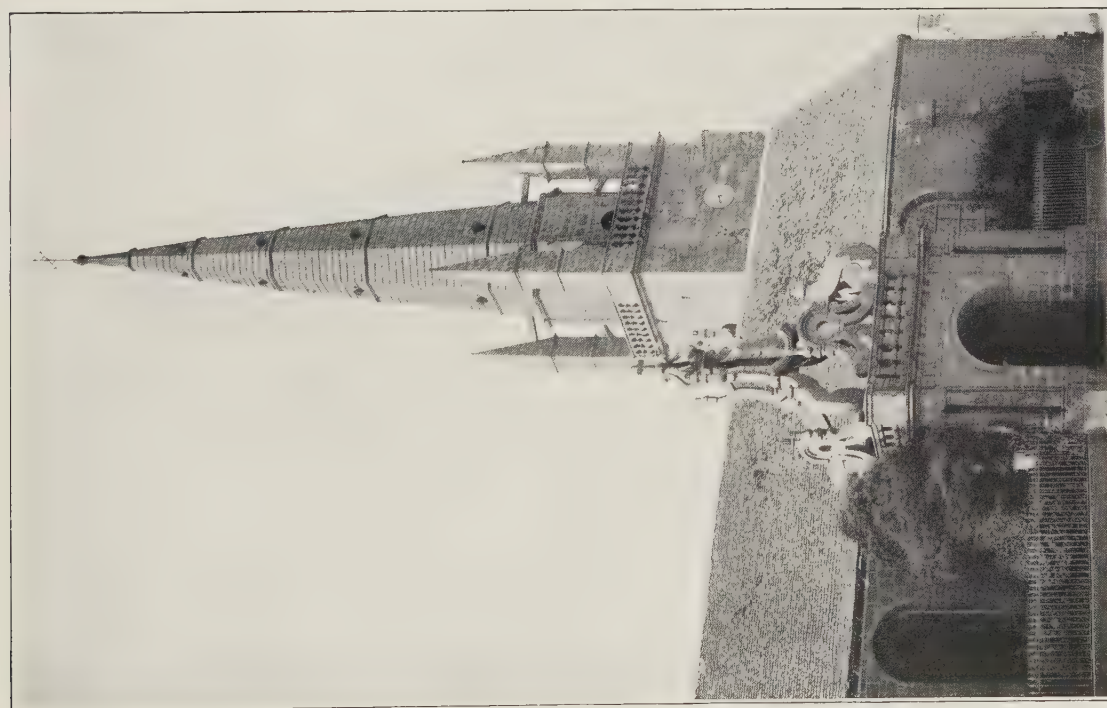
The church of St. Remi at Dieppe shows similar peculiarities. The choir was begun in 1522 and finished 1544 for Thomas Bouchard. The work stopped at the crossing in 1560, and was renewed in 1605; the nave was begun in 1655 and finished in 1672.¹ Both choir and nave have huge cylinder columns, the choir with carved capitals, the nave with Doric circular capitals, but in both nave and choir the tracery and details are late Gothic. So, too, when the vaulting and clerestory of the choir of Toulouse Cathedral were destroyed by fire in 1609, Pierre Levesville of Orléans, rebuilt it all in the Gothic manner, the only variations being the absence of cusping, and the fanciful design of the tracery; but the vaulting is true vaulting in the sense that the filling in really bears on the ribs. Strangest of all, when the elder Gabriel built the west front to the Cathedral of Orléans, and the south transept in 1706, he adhered to the main lines and general forms of Gothic, though totally ignorant of the mouldings, detail, and whole spirit of Gothic architecture. Even the Jesuits employed groined vaulting in many of their interiors. The chapel of the Lycée Henri IV at Poitiers, built in 1608, is vaulted in this manner, though its details generally are neo-classic.

¹ Notes by the Abbé Loth, 1902.



[N. D. photo.]

ST. MICHEL: DIJON (P. II)



[Mon. Hist.]

CARNAC CHURCH; MOREHAN (PP. IO, II)

[Photo.]

Of the third type of church, that is, churches where the detail is neo-classic, but the whole conception of the church is Gothic, St. Eustache at Paris is the most famous example. This great church shares with Brou the distinction of being the only important church built *de novo* in the sixteenth century. Pierre Lemercier, who began the building in 1552, evidently intended to show what could be done with a church in the new manner, but, as usual with the builders of this period, he never got within the fringe of the subject, and in fact produced an immense Gothic church, in spite of the lavish details and ornament with which he covered his building. The spacing of the piers, their great height, and the relation of the piers to the arches, and the whole scheme of plan and proportion are purely Gothic, and the designer could not conceal the fact, though he cut up his piers with every device of neo-classic he could think of, fluted and panelled pilasters, capitals, and fragments of entablatures, features that suggest the *débris* of a mason's yard rather than any consecutive architectural idea. Structurally and in plan it is a Gothic building, but the quality of late Gothic architecture is lost in this travesty of neo-classic. When he came to the outside the builder recollected another Renaissance motive, the classical pilaster with disproportionate capitals of a quasi-Corinthian order, then in the height of the François I fashion. Germain Brice¹ says: "L'architecte dans cet édifice a fait paraître une horrible confusion du Gothique et de l'antique, et a pour ainsi dire tellement corrompu et massacré l'un et l'autre que l'on n'y peut rien distinguer de régulier et supportable—ce qui fait que l'on doit plaindre avec raison la grande dépense qui a été faite dans cette fabrique, sous la conduite du maçon ignorant, qui en a donné les desseins." Pierre Lemercier appears to have completed most of the interior, though there is a date in the north transept, 1640, and apparently at about that date, or a little earlier, Jacques Lemercier was called in to complete the west front, and probably designed the Doric order, a fragment of which still remains on the upper part of the south side of the west tower.² The

¹ Piganiol de la Force also has his word. The church is, he says, "le plus mal entendu, pour la commodité des Paroissiens, et du plus mauvais gout pour l'architecture."

² It appears from Van Merlen's view of St. Eustache that Jacques Lemercier did not interfere with the earlier work on the south and west sides up to the top of the aisles, and that he started his Doric order above this and carried it across the west front, but left the work in the west front unfinished. Van Merlen gives the date of this work as 1632. ("Recueil des plus beaux édifices et frontispices des églises de Paris," by Jacques Van Merlen, 4, reprinted in the eighteenth century by Mariette.)

whole of the west façade, with the exception of the fragment on the south side, was swept away when Mansart de Jouy rebuilt the west front in 1755. St. Eustache is impressive by its size, but it is an unsatisfactory building inside and out. Pierre Lemercier had, in fact, little or no idea of organic design, in which each part is indissolubly associated with every other part, and there is no failure in that unity of effort which is the first essential of good architecture. But that was not how the builder-designer worked in 1552, and Pierre Lemercier was not a clear-headed man. He had already made his experiment in the interesting but bewildering Church of St. Maclou, in his native town of Pontoise. This church is of several dates. The apse, the ambulatory, and the east side of the transepts belong to the twelfth century; the tower and west front, one bay of the nave, and the north-west chapel belong to the latter part of the fifteenth, but the whole of the intermediate parts appear to have been rebuilt in the sixteenth, century. The north aisle follows the model of Fontainebleau in its capitals and details. The vaulting is quadripartite with diagonal ribs, and the ribs start from fragments of entablatures carried by large cylindrical columns with very big caps. These are in the François I manner with volutes formed by griffins and grotesques. The nave arcade has semicircular arches which develop out of the columns without any impost mouldings. The groining of the nave springs from entablatures and capitals as in the aisles, with this peculiarity, however, that the arches are pointed. The south aisle is later and dates from 1578.¹ Here there is a most extraordinary jumble of details, and when the builder reached the old south transept he gathered himself together for a prodigious effort. He found a solid pier remaining from the older building; out of this he formed an engaged and fluted pilaster with an elaborate capital, but having done this he found that he had not even reached the springing of the aisle vaulting, much less that of the nave, so he continued with another fluted pilaster, finally ending up with an enormous Corinthian capital, and making no attempt to keep to the scale and levels of the somewhat similar treatment on the opposite side of the nave. It would be difficult to find a more hopeless muddle of incongruous scale and details.

The Church of St. Etienne-du-Mont at Paris has many of the

¹ Date in south aisle. There is also on the east side of the pier next the south transept, the date 1585, probably the date of the completion of the church. The very remarkable entombment, which I have referred to before, is in a separate chapel at the west end of the north aisle.



[L. P. photo.]

ST. EUSTACHE: PARIS (P. 13)



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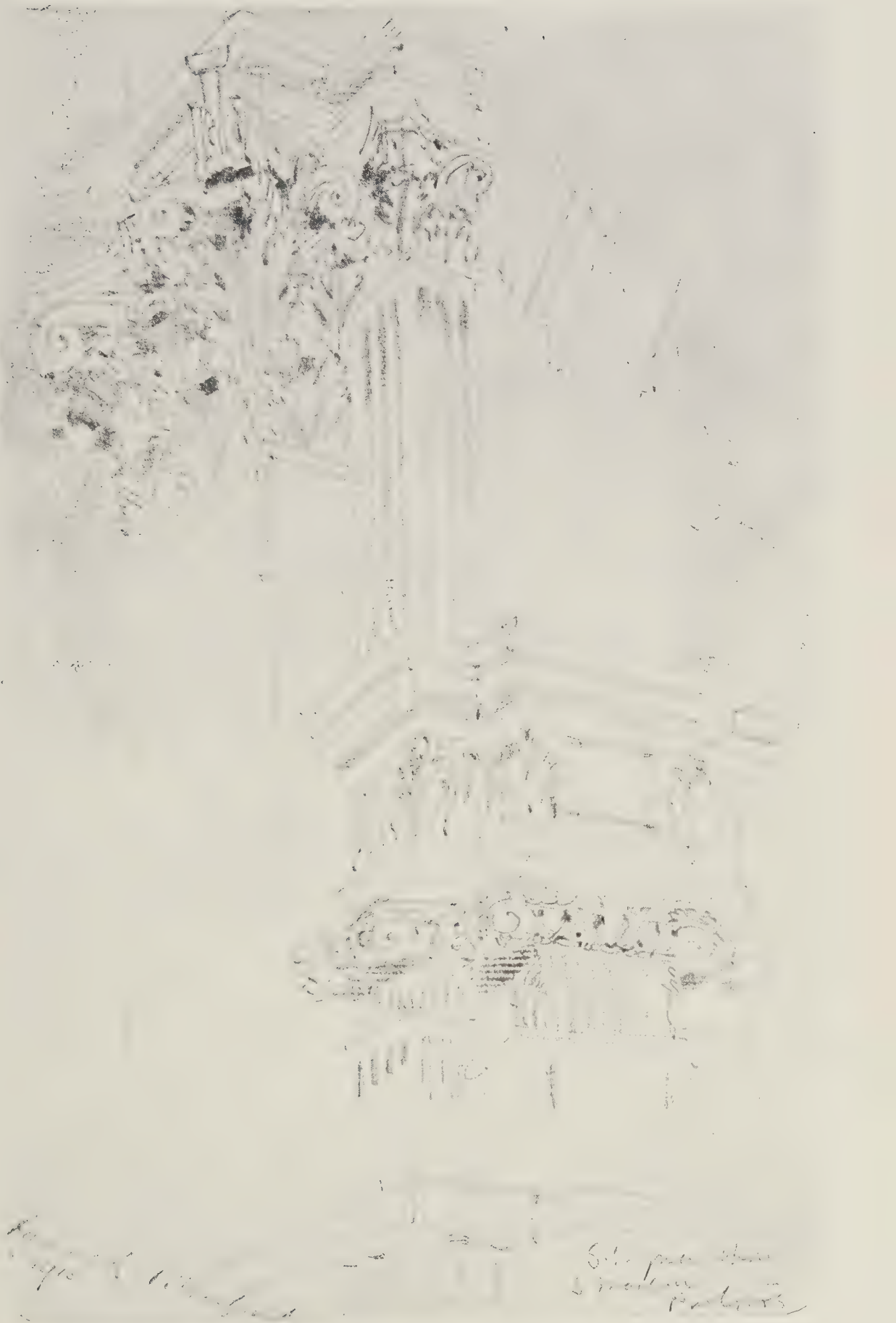
JUBÉ: ST. ETIENNE-DU-MONT, PARIS (P. 14)

defects of St. Eustache, the same foolish conglomeration of details, and the same initial mistake of supposing that the character of a building was altered by the substitution of one set of details for another; but the interior is light and cheerful, and it is a more attractive church than St. Eustache, possibly because it was less ambitious. The choir, which was begun in 1517, still shows the Gothic tradition in all essential points, and the work becomes more mannered and less skilful as it proceeds westward. Elaborate pendants hang from the vaulting over the crossing, and finally in the rood screen and on the west front¹ the ornamentalists break right away into all the exuberance of the worst neo-classic of the time. Yet it is characteristic that, even with this intention, Pierre Biard could not divest himself of the earlier manner, for in the groining of the rood screen he fell back on what he remembered of Gothic vaulting. This rood screen is one of the show sights of Paris, and the stone staircase winding round the pier of the crossing is a clever piece of masonry; but both in design and execution the famous masterpiece of Pierre Biard seems to me a greatly over-rated work. It is inferior to Gailda's work at Troyes. The design is uninteresting, and every member is covered with ornament of some sort or another, but the relief is too high, and over-emphasized by the use of the drill and owing to the vertical cutting of the ornament, without any attempt at modelling, the effect at a distance is simply that of ornament drawn on the stone in black chalk. The Fames in the spandrels are feeble reminiscences of Goujon's, and the work is only saved from commonplace by the rather fine figures seated on the broken pediments over the side entrances to the choir. St. Etienne was dedicated by Gondi, Archbishop of Paris, in 1626.² It is typical of what the mason-sculptor at the end of the sixteenth century could do. All that is good in it belonged to the last of the mediaeval tradition, the rest was mere groping after a new manner of thought and expression, not really understood by the workman and still repugnant to his instincts. If, as it is, architecture is a serious art, work such as this, merely ignorant experiments with unfamiliar details, is not architecture at all, and it is wrong in fact to treat such men as Pierre Lemercier, the Le Bretons, or the Grappins of Gisors as

¹ The carving over the west doorway was executed by Gabriel Thomas in 1863. The front was repaired in 1910.

² An old marble tablet in the north aisle records that during the ceremony two girls fell from the gallery round the choir with part of the balustrade, and that, by a marvellous Providence, neither they nor any of the people below were hurt.

architects. The results of their efforts were very much what a builder left to his own devices might produce at the present day. They trusted almost entirely to detail, but the detail was pitchforked into their buildings without any consideration or even consciousness of its architectural value. In both cases tradition, the set habitual way of doing things, is as yet wanting, and in both cases is the reason why architecture has gone so lamentably astray. Later on we shall find a strong tradition established by purely academic training, but at the beginning of the seventeenth century a tradition of neo-classic was not yet formed. The lead given in the Chapel of the Valois, or the memorial chapel at Anet, was not followed up. These buildings were isolated works outside the range of the vernacular of the time, and between the old and the new, architecture was temporarily stranded, for it is abundantly clear that the old tradition of church building had finished its course. It no longer expressed the ideals of the time. It failed to provide the right background and environment for those complex conceptions of life and religion which had superseded the simpler methods of mediaevalism. It was not that religion was losing ground, on the contrary there was a strong and very earnest revival in France in the early part of the seventeenth century, but the point of view had changed, and a combination of causes, political, social, and intellectual, carried a new manner with it in inevitable consequence.



PIER AND CAPITALS, ST. MACLOU; PONTOISE (P. 14)

CHAPTER XII

THE JESUITS IN FRANCE

FOR all effective purposes the mediaeval tradition ran itself out by the end of the sixteenth century. Soon after that date a change appears in French church architecture, so sudden and complete that it can only be accounted for by some cause external to the art itself. The new factors that have to be reckoned with at the beginning of the seventeenth century are the return of the Jesuits, the rapidity with which they rose to power in the State, and the astonishing extent and completeness of their organization. For the purposes of their propaganda nothing was too unimportant to be considered. Architecture had to take its place in their scheme, and it was in pursuance of a deliberate policy that the Society evolved two definite and important types of building—the college and the church. The field was lying fallow for the imminent change, the old tradition was dead, the master builders reluctantly had to recognize the fact that design had got beyond them, and that they could no longer hope to compete with the new men who had received a special training in architecture, and who had reached a relatively high standard of attainment in the art. Thirty years of civil war had lowered that standard, but a new generation was coming on to recover the lost ground, and clear it of the redundancies and failures that had been inevitable in the work of the pioneers of neo-classic. A notable difference emerges between the attitude of this new generation and that of the architects of the later Valois kings. In both cases the standpoint taken was that of the antique. Jacques Lemercier would have repudiated not less vehemently than De l'Orme the stupidity and barbarisms of S. Maclou and S. Eustache; both men looked to Rome for their authority and precedent, but they sought for it in different ways. The earlier men approached the art from the standpoint of the scholar, almost of the antiquary: their object was to ascertain from existing remains what had been the actual practice of antiquity. Raphael himself had founded

his schemes of decoration on such fragments of Roman painting as remained in the corridor of the golden house of Nero. Giulio Romano and Primaticcio developed this method into a system, yet always with reference to the original sources, namely, actual fragments of ancient wall paintings. The architects had founded their design on what they believed to be the system of Vitruvius, checked by the very considerable remains of ancient buildings still standing in Rome. Till De l'Orme completed his great work on architecture, treatise after treatise appeared on Vitruvius and the antiquities of Rome. Between 1486, the date of the first edition of Vitruvius, and 1567, at least eleven editions of Vitruvius were published in Italy, and Philander's edition, dedicated to François I, was published at Paris in 1548. Serlio issued his works at different dates between 1532 and 1540. I have already described De l'Orme's studies in Rome, his excavations and labours in drawing and measuring the actual buildings. Both he and Bullant had based their practice on the ancient buildings of Rome as they found and measured them on the spot. But in Italy itself the first enthusiasm of the humanists had died away. Michael Angelo, last of the giants, had lived on beyond his time. The man of method had taken possession. Palladio and Vignola were now the acknowledged masters of architecture. Della Porta¹ had finished Vignola's design of the Gesù, and with Domenico Fontana² had completed the dome of St. Peter's, from Michael Angelo's design, before the end of the sixteenth century. Carlo Maderno³ succeeded his uncle Fontana at St. Peter's after 1605, and carried out the west front and the great extension of the building between that year and his death in 1629. It was no longer a question of personal research among ancient buildings. There were dogmatic treatises on the art of architecture in abundance, St. Peter's and the Church of the Gesù for models, and to the young French architect it may have seemed a waste of time to grub about among ruins when he had only to cross the street to see with his own eyes the solution of his difficulties. To De Brosse and his contemporaries, Vignola's use of the orders was far more important than the authentic remains of the orders themselves. The tradition of research seems to have been lost in the closing years of the sixteenth century, and when French architects were brought face to face with important problems of design, it was less trouble to find out how these matters were handled by the competent Italian architects of the time,

¹ Giacomo della Porta, 1541-1604.

² Domenico Fontana, 1543-1607.

³ Carlo Maderno, 1556-1629.

than to work laboriously back to the original sources.¹ By the end of the sixteenth century Italian art was so complete and systematic that the short cut was inevitable. Vignola² and Palladio had done for architecture what the Caracci were doing for painting at Bologna. Systems and canons of design were henceforward to be paramount over the imagination, and the caprice and spontaneity of earlier art were doomed. M. Lemonnier says of French artists of the earlier part of the seventeenth century: "In spite of their conscientiousness, and their aspirations towards the beautiful, in spite of their real feeling for the dignity of their art, in spite even of their talent—for they had talent and plenty of it—all that they established was a discipline and a manner."³ The criticism scarcely does justice to the admirable art of Nicholas Poussin, and applies less to architecture than to painting, because the work of regularizing architecture had been begun by De l'Orme at least fifty years before, and also because architecture is essentially the art of reasoned thought and ordered imagination. The mere caprices of the Court of François I were no more architecture than the disordered efforts of Boromini a hundred years later. Church architecture alone, owing to the persistency of ecclesiastical tradition, had stayed outside the main current of thought, but the conflict between old and new was practically over, the days of artistic anarchy were numbered, and everything tended to combine in the direction of order, system, and method. French art was slowly settling into its course, after long wanderings in the wilderness; and the tendency towards an academic standard in design was inevitable. In the midst of these conditions appeared the vast organization of the Jesuits, supplying precisely the driving power necessary to gather together these vague ideas, and to compel them in a definite direction. I am expressing no opinion as to the value of what the Order did, only the historical fact that in the seventeenth century they practically revolutionized church architecture in every civilized country of the world except England.

The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594, the day after Jean Chastel's attempt on the life of Henri IV. Du Breul,⁴ says that within an hour of Chastel's attempt, a guard was sent to the Jesuit

¹ Much the same state of things has followed the chaos of Victorian architecture in this country. In the absence of a sure tradition of classic, many of our architects have rushed wholesale into the mannerisms of contemporary French design.

² Vignola died in 1575, and Palladio in 1583. Of the three Caracchi, Ludovico was born in 1553, died in 1614, Agostino, 1558-1601, and Annibal, 1560-1609.

³ Lemonnier, "L'Art français aux temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin."

⁴ "Le Théâtre des Antiquitez de Paris," ed. 1639, p. 175.

College in Paris, everything was locked up and sealed, and the Jesuits were ordered to leave Paris in three days and France in fourteen. All their property was confiscated; of all their houses in France they were only allowed to retain six; and even when permitted to return, they were only authorized to hold twelve establishments in the south, together with one at Dijon and one at La Flèche.¹ They were allowed to return in 1604, and at once took up an immense work of education and religious propaganda. The extent of their enterprise will be realized from the following figures. The world was parcelled out into five main divisions, subdivided into provinces: France, Italy, Spain, including Chili, Mexico, and the Philippines; Portugal, including Goa, Malabar, Brazil, China, and Japan; and Germany, including Austria, Poland, Bohemia, Flanders, Lithuania, and England. These five main divisions were subdivided into thirty-eight provinces, of which five were in France. In 1710 there were 19,609 members of the Order, and 1,338 establishments throughout the known world. The central idea of the Jesuits was to work through education, to guide and control their pupils from the first, giving a certain bent to their minds, and concentrating their efforts on the moulding of character to a definite model, rather than on the free development of moral and intellectual faculties. They were genuine educationalists, in the sense that the accumulation of knowledge was for their purpose of less importance than the training of the faculties in a certain definite direction; but the certain definite direction itself discounted the value of their method, because the whole of their system of training, mental and moral, tended to the advancement of the Jesuit Order. This is not the place to discuss the ulterior motives of the Society, noble and self-sacrificing, at least in its earlier stages, if tainted by less worthy aims in its later. I only call attention to this far-seeing policy in so far as it touches the development of architecture. It was part of the policy of the Jesuits to standardize their methods, and it thus became essential to their purpose not only that there should be one recognized system of religion and education, but also a recognized environment, so that in all parts of the world the same regimen should prevail, and the same influences, external no less than internal, be brought to bear on their pupils and converts. It is in this conception that we have the origin of what is called the Jesuit style in architecture, a style which developed later into all sorts of extravagances, but which in its earlier examples was the real and even the austere expression of a far-reaching educational ideal.

¹ See Charvet, "Etienne Martellange," 19.

On their return to France in 1604 the Jesuits were at once invited to resume the educational work which had been arrested ten years earlier. Henri IV, who had still to convince his enemies of his peace with Rome, did his best to help them, for he gave them his castle of La Flèche, and money for the establishment of one of their great educational establishments in that town.¹ The building was not completed till the following reign, but in the state of the finances Louis XIII could do little, and in most cases the municipalities made contracts with the Jesuits, agreeing to find certain sums of money for building and endowment, in consideration of the Jesuit fathers undertaking all the business of education. The sums so found were by no means adequate, and the Jesuits themselves had to find the balance. The strictest economy had, therefore, to be observed. The work was spread over many years, and here again the statesmanlike sagacity of the Jesuits is evident. They made no attempt to hurry the works. The great church of the Gésu in Rome is still unfinished so far as its internal decorations go, but it has never deviated from its original scheme, and many of the seminaries and colleges in France were not finally completed till as much as a hundred years after the original foundation. The practice was for the architect of the Order to prepare designs and specifications, which were faithfully adhered to in essential points, whether the building took five years to build or fifty. These plans and specifications were handed over to the local people for execution. The Jesuit architect visited the work from time to time to settle difficult points of construction or business, but does not appear to have superintended the work from start to finish.

The most famous of these Jesuit architects was Etienne Martellange, born at Lyons in 1569.² His father was a painter, and master of the Guild of Painters at Lyons, 1573-6; but beyond this nothing is known of his training, though he is believed to have studied in Rome. In 1590 he was admitted to the Society of Jesus at Avignon, and in 1605 he became a "coadjuteur temporel" in the fourth degree of the Order, his duties being those of architect-general to the Jesuits in the provinces of Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse. He was responsible for part at any rate of the designs for the colleges of Le Puy, Moulins, Vienne, Carpentras, Vezoul, Dijon, La Flèche, Roanne, Lyons, and

¹ La Flèche (Sarthe).

² Charvet, "Etienne Martellange," 1874. I am indebted to this work for the particulars given in the text, but my remarks on his work as an architect are based on a personal study of his buildings.

Orléans, and made all the designs for the churches of the Novitiate at Paris and S. Pierre at Nevers. His first two buildings were the colleges of Moulins and Le Puy, the reports for which are dated January and February 1605.¹

In 1607 Martellange was called in to report on the buildings already erected for the College of Carpentras. His report was unfavourable and went straight to the point. When a building is bad, he said, it is better to alter it and even destroy it, rather than leave in perpetuity "*une construction vicieuse*." The Capucin Fathers at Angers, he continues, had just changed the design of their church from top to bottom when it was recognized as bad, and he advised the authorities at Carpentras to do the same. The class-rooms were too small, the chapel inadequate, the windows too narrow, and there was nothing for it but to reconstruct them. Martellange was very much in earnest. In all his reports he addresses himself to practical questions such as these. Money was short, and the work of education had to be started as soon as possible, it was no question with him of lavish ornament such as the Jesuits affected later on in the days of their prosperity. What he wanted was the plainest and most efficient building for the purpose, wisely planned and solidly built.²

In 1607 or 1610 Martellange prepared designs for the college of Vienne, twenty miles south of Lyons, and a contract was made for the construction of the college and church for 112,000 livres; but this appears to have fallen through, for in 1615 and 1616 he provided further specifications for the college, "*qu'on veut bastir*." The college was not finished in 1619. In 1681 the church was only 20 ft. up, and was not completed till 1725. From the first money and material were so scarce that Martellange got leave from the town to take down part of the walls of the *Tour d'Orange* at one of the angles of the ancient

¹ In Charvet's life of Martellange, these reports (Charvet, 13-56) are given in full, and are exceedingly interesting, as showing the method of operations in the establishment of the Jesuit Colleges. The old Jesuit college at Moulins, after being used as a museum, has now been turned into law courts. It is an excellent building in red brick with black diapers and stone dressings, ranged round three sides of a court. There is no trace of Martellange in the building as it now stands, nor does it in any way resemble what is known of his work elsewhere. The date over the centre dormer is 1656, fifteen years later than the death of Martellange, and the façades to the street are later. Nor could he have had anything to do with the fine Montmorency chapel at Moulins, now the chapel of the Lycée.

² "Pour le regard des ornementz, ils doivent être simples: il faut avoir en ce esgard de donner à la stabilité ce qu'on metroit pour la beauté" (Martellange's report on the College at Moulins, dated 1605).

Forum, in order to use the stones for his new building.¹ The specifications that he prepared were rather loosely worded to modern ideas. The thickness of walls, the heights of the storeys, etc., and dimensions of doors and windows, are specified, but with the exception of directions that fir (*sapin*) is to be used instead of oak (*chêne*) for a long bearing, and that the walls are to be faced with a certain stone on the exposed side, no instructions are given as to materials or detail dimensions. One clause specifies that the ordinary doors are to be made according to common use and practice, and as advised by expert workmen. Another clause directs that if any difference is found between plans and elevations, the contractor is left free to follow whichever he likes! There is no suggestion of a reference back to the architect. The specifications are actually far more vague than the building contracts of the time of François I given in the *Comptes*, and suggest the amateur a mile away. Whether it was from want of training, or a certain vagueness and impatience when it came to details, Martellange was in constant difficulties with local contractors. At Le Puy he started his contract with an error of measurement. The first contractor died in 1607, his successor continued the work till 1610, when he claimed for extra work beyond the contract. Martellange was summoned from Dijon to settle the matter, and maintained that the contractor had already received four hundred livres too much, and that he denied one day what he had agreed to the day before. It is not known whether the architect or the builder won, but the builder was allowed to continue his work. A similar difficulty occurred at the Collège de la Trinité, Lyons, in 1622, when Martellange accused the builder of having charged more than double the value of the work done, and wrote to Gabriel Solignac of Beziers, architect of Paris, to inquire what was the practice of Paris, and whether there was any decree of Parliament in regard to methods of measurement. A settlement was not arrived at till two years later. These facts are suggestive of the attitude of the Jesuits towards architecture. That art was necessary to their system, accordingly they mastered it sufficiently for their purpose of keeping the control of it in their own hands, but there is no trace so far of their having studied it with the thoroughness of the professional architect. They were highly intelligent and able amateurs, who, so far as details of business and construction were concerned, must

¹ Charvet, "Etienne Martellange," p. 56, commenting on this vandalism, says "le gout d'antiquités gallo-romaines n'était guère de mode au commencement du XVII^e siècle," but this was hardly the case; Martellange must either have been at the end of his resources, or a more ignorant man than might have been expected in his position.

have been much in the hands of their contractors, and in regard to design cut down architecture to certain standard forms, which could be reproduced anywhere with the least possible difficulty.

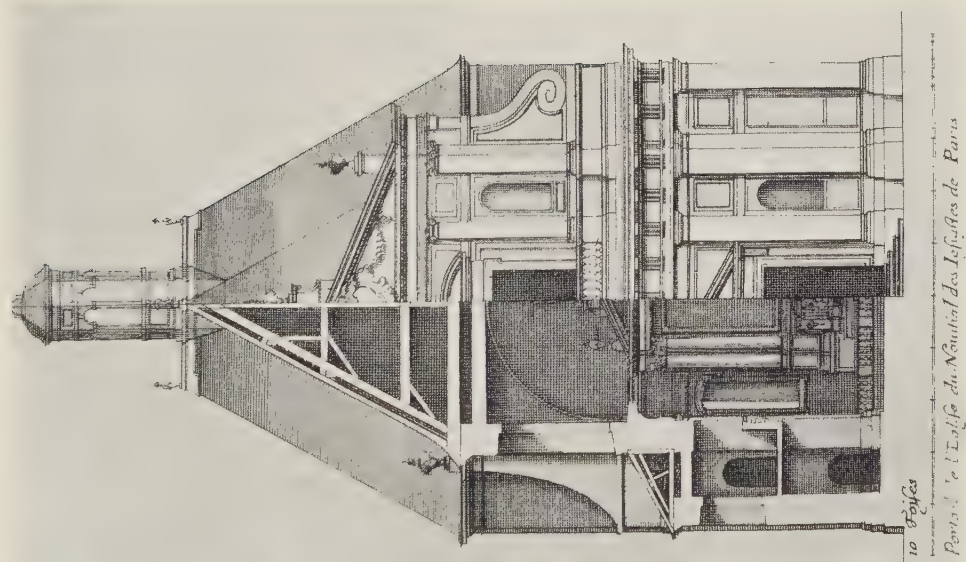
It appears from his report on the trouble at Le Puy that Martellange was engaged on the church¹ and Jesuit College at Dijon in 1611. His next work was at the college of La Flèche in Anjou. Buildings had been started here in 1606, and large contracts entered into for the church and other buildings, but difficulties arose as usual, and in 1612 Louis XIII sent Martellange to La Flèche to see to the completion of the church and college. It does not appear that he designed the church, begun in 1607, but the design is said to resemble that which he made for the Novitiate at Paris, and the college followed the regular Jesuit plan of three parallel courts, with the church forming the side of one court. The church of the Novitiate at Paris, now destroyed, was begun in 1612, though it was not till 1630 that the foundation stone was laid by the Duc de Verneuil, Bishop of Metz, Abbé of St. Germain-des-Prés and natural son of Henri IV.² The reputation of Martellange rests mainly on this church of the Novitiate. It was quite small, being only about 96 ft. long and 42 wide, and consisted of a nave in two bays with side chapels, a crossing the full width of the church, and a choir in two bays with a semicircular apse. But, partly on account of the growing prestige of the Jesuits, it attracted a great deal of attention. Dangeau, Secretary of State for War, paid for it, and in 1641 Nicolas Poussin painted the altar-piece, which was unfavourably criticized on the ground that the central figure suggested Jupiter Tonans, rather than the God of Pity.³ Blondel, who gives four plates of this church, says that it was regarded as one of the most perfect examples of its kind in Paris, and that the reverend fathers must have more than ever regretted having given the preference to Derand when they built their great church of St. Paul and St. Louis in the rue St. Antoine.⁴ Martellange must have been very busy between 1610 and 1620, for, besides the above buildings, he was employed on

¹ When Charvet wrote, before 1874, the church, after having been used as a school of art, was turned into an infant school.

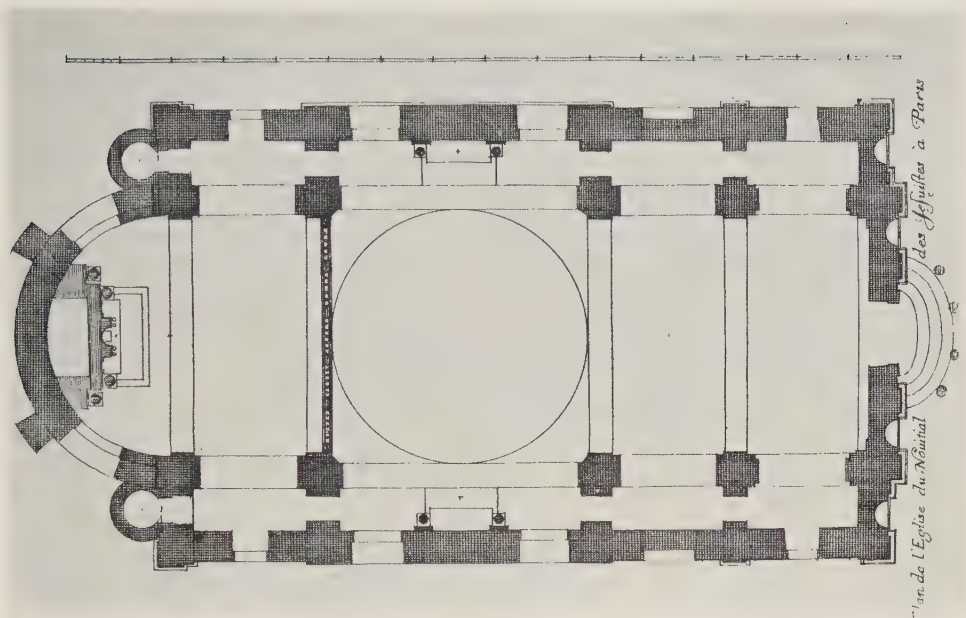
² Foundation stones were often laid long after the building was actually begun, at dates convenient to the great personage who was to perform the ceremony.

³ Poussin, who was irritated by the jealousy of his rivals at Paris, replied that it was impossible to imagine Christ "*avec un visage de torticolis, ou d'un père douillet,*" and that for his part he had hitherto lived among people who understood him by his paintings, without his having to explain himself in writing.

⁴ Blondel, "*Arch. Franç.*," II, chap. vii.



HALF ELEVATION AND SECTION



GROUND PLAN

the college of Roanne, and in 1617 he provided plans and specifications for the church of the college of La Trinité at Lyons,¹ a building on which he was engaged for several years, and where he had considerable trouble with his builder. In 1622 he designed the façade of St. Maclou at Orléans, destroyed in 1848, and this is the last building that he is known to have designed. Charvet mentions various buildings that he may have had to do with, such as the great Hôpital de la Charité at Lyons, a remarkable anticipation of modern ideas in regard to the free access of light and air to every part of a hospital. It is also possible, though there is so far no evidence to prove it, that he designed the chapel of the Lycée of Henri IV at Poitiers, and the chapel of the Lycée Corneille at Rouen, both dating from about this period.²

This Chapel of the Lycée Corneille is a curious and interesting building. The plan consists of a long rectangle, with half-octagonal apses at the east end and to the north and south transepts. It has a nave and two aisles, with galleries as usual over the aisles, but not over the transepts. The nave is in three bays, divided by transverse arches. The details are not less remarkable than the plan. The piers are square; large and rather coarse corbels project from them a short way up, apparently intended for figures which are not there, and above these corbels run large Corinthian pilasters with a complete entablature, the top of which marks the springing of the groining. The galleries have bold square balusters, but the windows have pointed arches filled in with tracery without cusping; the groining is quadripartite, and the ribs are late Gothic in section. If Martellange was the architect, he must have left more than was usual even in his haphazard practice to the initiative of the local builders. The same peculiarities appear in the Chapel of the College of La Flèche, and the Chapel of the Lycée at Poitiers, founded by Henri IV in 1608. The nave of the latter is in five bays, groined, with ribs which start from fluted pilasters with engaged shafts at the angles. There is a stone gallery at the west end and galleries on either side of the two western bays. High up in the east walls of the transepts are close-grilled openings for watching the pupils in the chapel. The best thing in the Lycée at Poitiers is the delightful Chapter room, heavily panelled in walnut, with a fine wood ceiling, designed with bold mouldings in panels filled with paintings of no great excellence, but good in tone. The room, fortunately, has

¹ Now the Lycée Ampère.

² The chapel at Rouen was begun in 1615, Marie de Médicis laying the foundation stone, but it was not finished till 1705.

never been touched, and it has all the old seats and fittings. With its sunny windows and their faded hangings it suggests, more intimately than any room I know in France, the intellectual atmosphere of these Jesuit Colleges in their earlier days, their culture and humanity, and a certain modest pomp and ceremoniousness which had not yet become too theatrical to retain its charm. In these days, before they were spoilt by prosperity, the Jesuit ideal was simple and austere, founded on discipline and self-sacrifice, without losing touch with scholarship and the finer interests of life. In Charvet's "Vie de Martellange" there is a letter written by a Jesuit, Father Perpinien, to his friend in Rome, describing the College at Lyons. The kitchen, he says, is close to the refectory, with an excellent cellar underneath; the bedrooms have each of them a book-closet fitted up with a number of books, where one can shut oneself up and read and meditate with reasonable warmth, "for here, my dear Barthélemy," he continues, "it is quite as important to keep the body warm as the mind, you can take my word for it. For example, in the largest room there used to be painted "intus vinum, foris ignis," but the author of this device was no doubt deep in the sins of the flesh, so we have told them to put up "intus preces, foris labor," excellent remedies against this terrible cold. . . . The college of La Trinité is placed in the middle of the strip of land dividing the Rhône and the Saône, and so from the rooms one has an admirable view of the river, which rushes by so fast that though it is far beneath, one hears the noise of its waters, one sees the boats descending, and far away stretches the immense plain bounded by the far-distant Alps. How often, as I walk up and down the terrace, have I imagined to myself that Italy, the nurse of Genius and the Arts, that Rome, the mother of Christianity, that the house of our Fathers, our college, and that you yourself, are before my eyes. How many times have I been tempted to repeat those lines of Meliboeus in Virgil:

En unquam Latios longo post tempore fines
Et veteris Romae surgentia marmore tecta.
Post aliquot mea regna videns mirabor aristas.¹

The sensibility, the humanity of Father Perpinien suggest a different type from that of the cold-blooded Jesuit of romance and even

¹ Father Perpinien is adapting from the First Eclogue, where "patrios" instead of "Latios" is the true text, and he has substituted the line "et veteris Roma," etc., for "pauperis et tuguri congestum cespitem culmen." His letter, from which I have paraphrased freely, is given verbatim in Charvet, "Martellange," 135-137. Father Perpinien was a Spaniard, who died in Paris the year that he wrote this letter.



CHAPEL OF THE LYCÉE
CORNEILLE: ROUEN
(P. 25)

Chapel
Lycée - Rouen
Rouen
Régis - Rouen
1907

[R. B. del.]

of history, and it is only fair to recollect that there were in the Order men of his fine enthusiasm in the days before the Order had become the instrument of the ambitions of its Generals.

Martellange died in 1641, at the age of seventy-two. He had to undergo a severe operation in 1633, which seems to have prevented the further practice of architecture, and he spent the remaining years of his life in the Novitiate at Paris, painting and designing, and possibly helping Derand in his book on stone-cutting,¹ and Mathurin Jousse in his work on perspective,² and "*Le Secret d'Architecture*."³ In the annals for the year of his death, he is described as "a pious, laborious man, tenacious in his silence, and of notable humility. For fifty-one years he served the Society, freely spending himself in the arts of painting and architecture, and building many Churches and edifices for the Society and others, a man so gifted by God that he might be held up as an example to his kind." Martellange had in fact done a remarkable work—modestly and unobtrusively he had set himself to work out the problem of the Jesuit College, and it is to him, guided by the sagacity of his superiors, that France owes the conception of those great Lycées and seminaries so impressive to this day in their austere and simple dignity. His solution was straightforward enough, nothing but two or more courts with the church on one side of one of the courts; the real contribution to architecture was the scale of these buildings and their resolute plainness, for the Jesuits in their early days aimed solely at efficiency. On the road between Bourg en Bresse and the great church of Brou, there is a vast hospital of fine proportion and admirable simplicity of treatment which illustrates this phase of architecture at its best. It appears to date from the early part of the century.

In none, however, of his authentic works did Martellange show himself capable of a great design such as this. In spite of Blondel's praise of the design of the Novitiate, a careful study of the works of Martellange convinces me that he was little more than a meritorious amateur in architecture, if such a thing is possible. His most important work now left is the church of S. Pierre at Nevers, originally the chapel of the Jesuit college. The plan consists of a Greek cross, with half-octagon apsidal ends to each of the four arms,

¹ "*L'Architecture des Voûtes, où l'art des traits et coupe des voûtes, etc.*," par le rev. Père François Derand, de la Compagnie de Jésus." Paris, 1643.

² "*La Perspective Positive de Viator, etc.*," par Mathurin Jousse de la Flèche." La Flèche, 1635.

³ "*Le Secret d'Architecture, etc.*," par Mathurin Jousse de la ville de la Flèche. La Flèche, 1642.

and a shallow dome over the centre; the interior has no architectural details but some very meagre pilasters and entablatures, and relies for its effect on painted perspectives and architectural details in the worst Italian manner of the seventeenth century. Except for the ingenious plan there is nothing here to detain one. On the outside a great effort was made on the west façade, and the result is characteristic, for there is hardly a single detail that is right: the pedestal of the lower order is too high, the niches above it too crowded, the impost moulding too heavy, the balustrade engaged against a solid wall exaggerated and irrational, and the façade as a whole too high for its width. It would seem as if Martellange had noted certain details as pleasing, and used every one of them without regard to scale, and without any sense of relation. The west front of the chapel at Roanne is wholly insignificant: a large semicircular arch on two Doric pilasters, surmounted by a pediment and flanked by two miserable little towers. In the centre is a doorway, which shows total ignorance of neo-classic design, and which was probably left to the local builder to carry out as best he could. The front of the chapel of La Trinité at Lyons shows the same poverty of invention. Martellange, in fact, on the evidence available, emerges less as an architect than as an agent drawing up schemes for these vast establishments, and aiming at the maximum of accommodation for a minimum of cost; and though one may admire his common sense and directness of purpose, the qualities that he displayed are those of the administrator, not of the artist.

On the other hand, it was Martellange who introduced the typical plan of the Jesuit church into France; the nave with shallow recesses between the abutments of the transverse arches, with galleries above. This plan appears in its simplest form in the chapel of the Lycée at Roanne; and in the chapels of La Trinité and of the Charité at Lyons. Treated in excellent architectural terms it is found in the Montmorency chapel at Moulins. Lemer cier used it at the Oratoire and the Sorbonne, and François Mansart designed a consummate variation on this theme in the nave of the Val de Grace. Unfortunately the simpler ideals of earlier days were lost. The Jesuits became more and more immersed in political intrigues; theatrical display and the most gorgeous and ostentatious splendour became necessary for their purposes, and all that was really worth keeping in their architecture was lost in the orgies of their decoration.

On the outside of their churches, the Jesuit architects concentrated their attention on the west façade. Sometimes, and for special



[N. D. photo.]

ST. PIERRE: NEVERS (P. 27)



Photo.]

[J. Robuchon

CHAPTER ROOM: LYCÉE HENRI IV, POITIERS (P. 26)
(FROM "PAYSAGES ET MONUMENTS DU POITOU")



MONTMORENCY CHAPEL AT MOULINS (P. 28)

[R. B. del.]

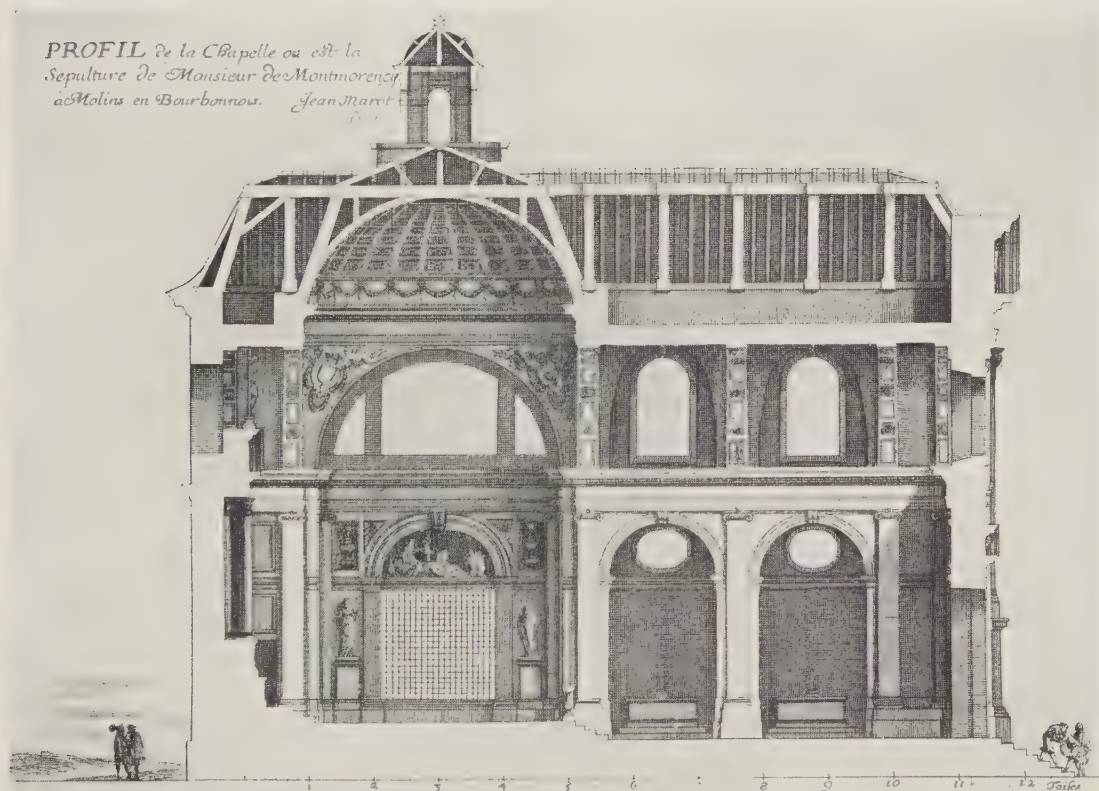
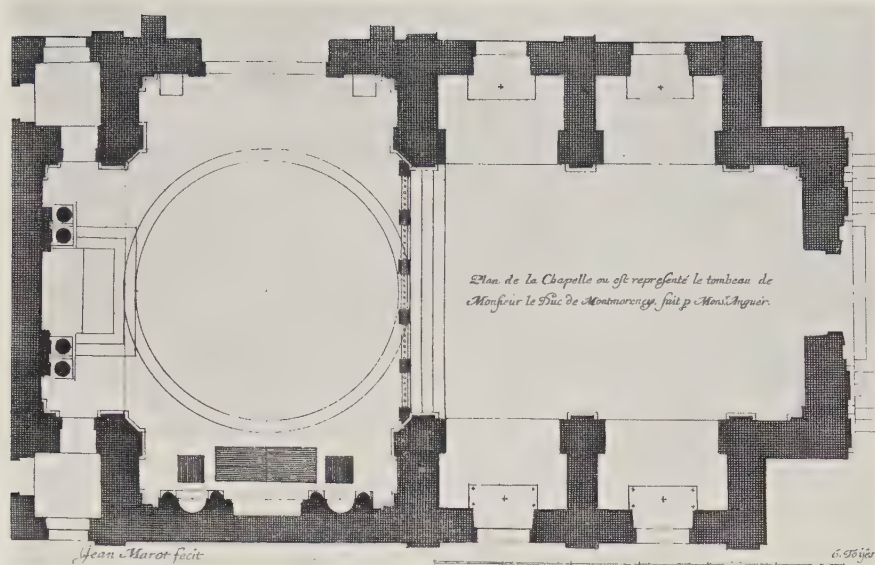
purposes, ornamental treatment was used elsewhere, as in the exposed north elevation of the chapel of the seminary at Vannes; but the characteristic and familiar feature of the Jesuit church is its west front; "columns on the ground storey between the three doors, entablature, and cornice, columns on the upper storey on either side of the central 'œil de bœuf,' triangular pediment at the top, the implacable façade rises identical under every sky."¹ This is how a modern French writer has described it, in terms of rather unintelligent scorn. The picture, of course, is by no means accurate in detail, though it gives, in general terms, the main features of the Jesuit façade, but it raises the question how far Jesuit architecture, as a phase of neo-classic, deserves the wholesale condemnation which it has been the fashion to pour on it for many years. It is too important a factor in modern architecture to be dismissed in a few sharp words of casual contempt. Its lineage, direct from Vignola, was at least respectable. Introduced into France at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was accepted by all the best architects then living. De Brosse and Lemercier adopted it as a matter of course; even François Mansart himself followed it in his design for the west façade of the Val de Grace. It supplied the intervening link in monumental design between the art of Henri IV and that of Louis XIV. Such testimony is too weighty to be pushed aside, and in order to appreciate it at its right value it is necessary to clear the mind of the prejudices of the Gothic revival, the fanciful justifications of architecture on constructional or moral grounds, the misplaced earnestness that insists on some special symbolical meaning for every detail, without regard to its effect on the whole, all the muddle-headed sentimentalism that did duty in France in the last century, not less than in England, for the patient study and appreciation of the art of architecture as actually practised.

Men such as François Mansart conceived of architecture as an art that exists for a special aesthetic purpose, an art that has to realize itself by means of carefully considered relations of mass and outline and of voids and solids, by the proportions of the parts to the whole, and by a certain deliberate rhythm, animating and controlling the whole design. The problem was purely artistic. Being thoroughly well trained, technical difficulties hardly existed for them, nor were

¹ "L'Evolution de l'Architecture en France," Raoul Rosières, 185. A sketch of the development of French architecture, written without very intimate study of the subject, on the unhistorical hypothesis that the national architecture of France consists solely of its Gothic architecture.

they greatly concerned whether their façade did or did not express to a nicety the actual construction of their building, or whether it was capable of translation into symbolical terms by ingenious literary persons. To these men the Jesuit façade appeared reasonable and satisfactory, and so under conditions it undoubtedly was. Badly treated¹ it became utterly monstrous, but in good hands it gave opportunity for that sense of scale and rhythm, for that sensitive instinct for the right detail and ornament, which are to the architect what his exact vision and his skill of hand are to the painter and the sculptor. Architecture such as this is necessarily technical. It cannot impress the imagination by sheer gigantic size like the east wall of the cathedral at Poitiers. It can very easily be exaggerated and overdone, as in the west façade of the church of St. Paul and St. Louis, in Paris. But it has its place in the history of architecture, by no means, it is true, in the front rank of the world's masterpieces, yet no more to be utterly condemned than the works of those writers and artists who appear and disappear, never wholly forgotten, never quite within the fringe of first-rate eminence.

¹ There is a notable example in the west front of the Church of the Visitation at Nevers.



[J. Marot ft.

GROUND PLAN AND SECTION OF THE MONTMORENCY CHAPEL AT MOULINS (P. 28)

CHAPTER XIII

HENRI IV

THE result of the civil wars had been to reduce France to a condition of unparalleled exhaustion. The waste of human life had been enormous. The sieges, sackings, and burnings, the passage of opposing armies up and down the land, had left the country desolate, and many of the towns in ruins. The roads were broken up, bridges and dykes destroyed. "France and I," wrote Henri IV in 1598, "have need of a breathing space."¹ Nobody but the lawyers and the trades seem to have had any money. The Church had had to pay heavily, the nobles were impoverished and had to sell their estates. It was reckoned in 1605 that half the properties of the Kingdom had changed hands, many of them passing into the possession of the sons of wealthy tradesmen. In addition to this, thirty years of war had so unsettled the aristocracy that they were no longer content to stay at home,² "*De rurale qu'elle était, elle tend à devenir courtisane*," and the result was that on the one hand the splendid patronage of such men as Anne de Montmorenci was a thing of the past, and that on the other, the architects had to reckon with the taste of a lower rank of society, of people without the tradition of a great position, and without any particular ambition for magnificent building. The curious provincialism of French architecture at the beginning of the seventeenth century was probably due as much to this lower standard of taste as to actual impoverishment.

As for the King himself, he and his ministers were at their wits' end to find money to keep the business of the State going. In 1605 the Kingdom was in debt to the extent of 160 millions of francs. The industries of the towns were reduced almost to extinction, and matters were aggravated by the selfishness of the guilds. It was scarcely to be wondered at that Sully opposed all undertakings that were not absolutely necessary, most of all any such reckless enterprises in architecture as those that had ruined the later Valois kings. It took all the genius of Henri IV, and all the resolution of his minister, to restore order and

¹ Mariéjol, "*Hist. de France*," ed. Lavissee, vi, 2, 1.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 2, 4.

political equilibrium, and to re-establish the finances of the country on anything like a working basis, and their labours were hardly completed when the King was assassinated. We have, in fact, to look to the reign of Louis XIII, rather than to that of his father, for the next development of French architecture. Social and political conditions were too unsettled for any considerable activity in house-building outside Paris, and the resources of the State did not admit of the full realization of Henri's ideas. Yet in the few years before his death his genius evolved those conceptions of civil architecture, and of the training of artists, which have enabled France to establish its ascendancy in these matters over the civilized world. Moreover, considering the state of the country, what he actually achieved in the last ten years of his life is simply astonishing. There is a marked distinction between François I and Henri IV in their relations to the arts. Whereas François built for his personal gratification, Henri IV had definite ideas of statesmanlike policy in encouraging architecture and the arts. He believed in their pacific influence, in the part they might play in consolidating the State not only by affording employment to a large body of skilled workmen, but also by direct appeal through visible embodiments of the greatness of the State, and its claims on the devotion and services of all good citizens. Not only did he seek to re-establish the arts in France, but, as I shall show, one of his schemes for the improvement of Paris was deliberately intended to symbolize the "unity" of France. The first Napoleon alone among his successors approached him in the range of his statesmanship.

Henri IV's first great undertaking was the completion of the gallery connecting the Louvre with the Tuileries. It had been intended, almost from the first, to join the two palaces. The Louvre was within the city walls, and on the memorable day of the Barricades Henri III had been practically a prisoner in that Palace, and in some danger of his life.¹ It was therefore important to provide a means of escape from the Louvre to the Tuileries which lay outside the walls. But very little had been done so far. When Lescot died (1578) the buildings of the Louvre running south from the west entrance, together with part of the river front returning east, were completed. At the south-west corner a small bridge connected with the ground-floor of the little gallery, a building running

¹ Sauval, ii, 40. It appears from Du Cerceau's description that the idea of joining the Tuileries and the Louvre originated with Catherine de Médicis, and Berty gives reasons for thinking that the galleries were actually begun under Charles IX, and the ground floor of the little gallery completed in 1575 (Berty, "Top. Hist., etc.," i, 258, 259).



Cathedral Toulouse -
 Choir Stalls in Walnut 3.6 high
 August 2, 1891 164 -
 Howard Mansfield 1901

[R. B. del.]

CHOIR STALL: CATHEDRAL, TOULOUSE

north and south and extending beyond the river face of the Louvre in the direction of the river. Some 660 yards west of this, about two thirds of one side of the Tuileries had been completed from the designs of De l'Orme, continued by Bullant. The great gallery connecting the two palaces is supposed by Berty to have been actually begun in 1566, but very little can have been done, and both this and the little gallery, so far, were mere one-storey passages, with a terrace walk along the top. The first step was to complete the little gallery. This, according to Sauval,¹ was finished by Chambiges up to the first floor, and covered by a terrace where Charles IX used to take the air, and the second storey was built for Henri IV by two builders named Fournier and Plain. The name of the architect is unknown, but the design as described was characteristic of the state of architecture at the end of the sixteenth century. The façade, says Sauval, was so encumbered with bas-reliefs, bosses, ornaments, and incrustations of white and black marble, jasper, and every sort of colour, that it was impossible to describe the ill-conceived variety of all these "bizzareries."² The upper storey of the little gallery appears to have been completed by 1600. The question of its internal decoration had then to be decided, and the history of what happened in regard to this is of some interest as showing the complete perplexity that prevailed in regard to the decorative arts, and the first signs of a change in their direction. Sully consulted Antoine de Laval, a geographer, as to the most suitable method of decorating the upper gallery, and in 1610 De Laval³ drew up a report on the paintings proper for "Basilicas," and the palaces of the King. The report is valuable, because for the first time it states in terms a reaction against the methods of the earlier Renaissance, and is ominous of a drift towards a set convention of antiquity and a *parti pris* in art, adopted on purely intellectual grounds, without reference either to the impulses of imagination on the one hand, or to the technical ideals and problems of the arts themselves on the other. The whole intention is entirely and absurdly literary. Thus De Laval, from the eminence of

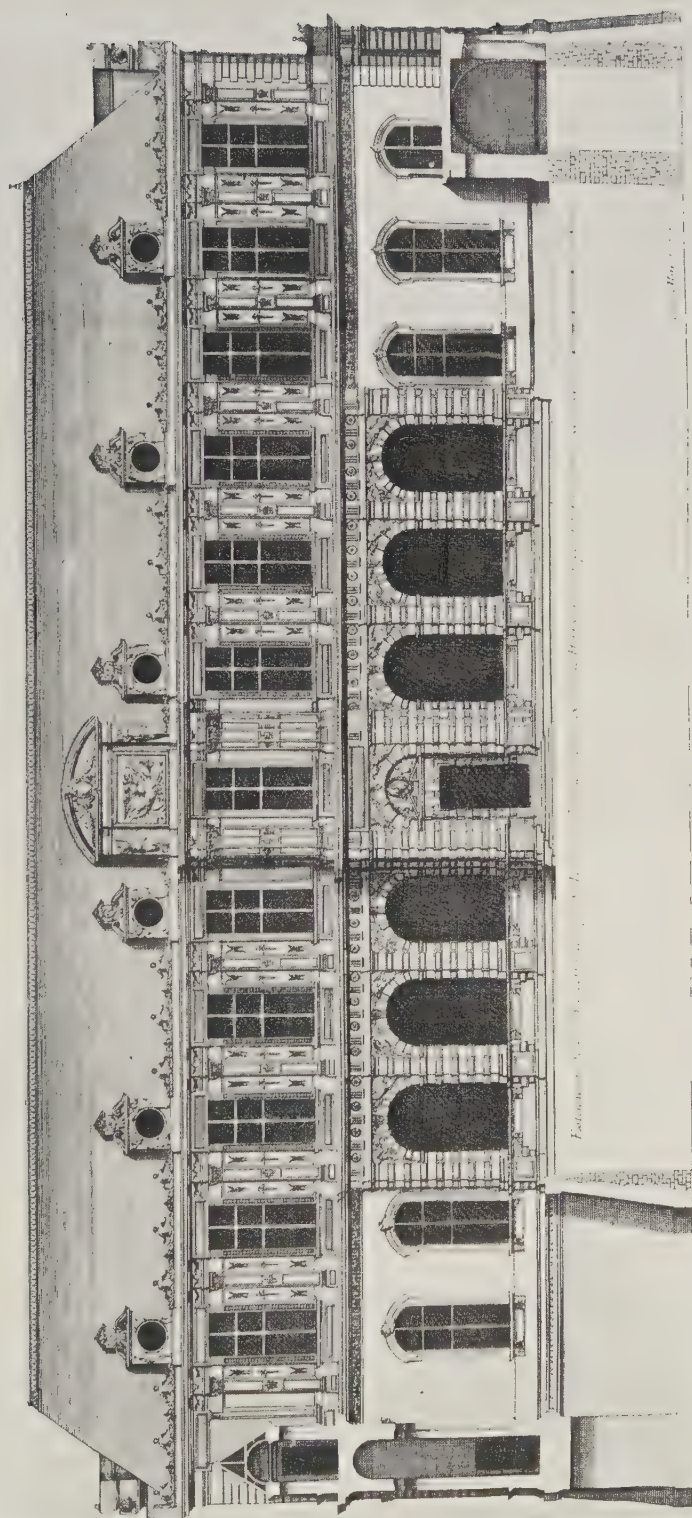
¹ Sauval, ii, 37.

² There is an engraving of this by Marot, entitled "Elévation de l'un des Corps de Logis du Louvre, basti sous Charles IX et sous Henri IV et brulé en partie en 1660." His print is turned the wrong way. Berty has used this view in his restoration ("Top. Hist.," ii, 63-65). The building was materially altered by Lemercier for Anne of Austria in 1658, and was partly burnt in 1660, and rebuilt for Louis XIV. Sauval describes it as 180 ft. long by 28 wide, but the present gallery (Galerie d'Apollon) measures 78 paces by 33 wide.

³ See Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 65 *et seq.*

his geographer's chair, laid it down that François I was quite wrong to give his Italians *carte blanche* in the decoration of Fontainebleau, he ought to have given them a rigid programme, for there is, he says, an essential difference between "the work of the intellect and that of the hand." The latter may be relegated to the painter, whereas it was the duty of the thinker to tell him what to do, a task of much difficulty, requiring the knowledge of "an infinity of secrets concealed in the inexhaustible resources of literature, to the study of which these great painters have not the time to devote anything but the most superficial study." And so the heathen mythology of Primaticcio and his fellows was to go, there were to be no more Satyrs hiding in the woods, no Nymphs and Naiads in the streams: Artemis might break her bow and Pan his pipes, these childish figures were to be banished from the arts, and reason was to direct their subjects. "Thus," says De Laval, "I should follow Augustus, Severus, and Caracalla. Let us have no more of these foolish fables, which have nothing to recommend them but their colour and drawing. Instead, we want the whole apparatus of architectural ornament, the effigies of the sixty-three kings of France, lodged each in a different portico with appropriate ornaments, emblems, devices, letters, verses, panegyrics, and inscriptions," to explain what the figures mean, in terms "*esloignez du vulgaire, ressemblans la gravité des antiques*," and so the geographer proceeds with his sermon, enlarging on the need of dignity and appropriateness, in terms which suggest the dancing master rather than the artist. De Laval reveals a most astonishing misconception of the function of art, and anticipates the iron rule of the proprieties and "convenances." It is not difficult to foresee in his opinions the jargon of "appropriate sentiment in design," which has been the refuge of all dull men, and the stumbling-block in the way of all good architects ever since.

Fortunately, Frenchmen in the earlier part of the seventeenth century were not all such prigs as De Laval. He got in his sixty-three kings of France between the windows of the gallery, Henri IV appearing as the Gallic Hercules. Pourbus painted the figure of Marie de Médicis, Du Breul and Bunel painted the others, but when it came to the ceiling, the painters left the kings and queens of France to their own devices, and painted the fight of the Giants, one figure stretching from the springing of the vault half-way across its curve, which, according to De Sauval, was the finest piece of fore-shortening in Europe. Elsewhere on the ceiling were Jupiter and Danaë, Perseus and Andromeda, Pan and Syrinx, mixed up with scenes from the Old Testament.



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THE LOUVRE: PETIT GALERIE (PP. 33-35)

Sauval, ii, 39, describes these paintings with his customary zest. Andromeda, for example, "regarde son libérateur avec zèle et avec pudeur"; "Le Dieu Pan, avec sa laideur ordinaire, et couronné d'un grand bouquet de cornes, employe toute son industrie et toute ses forces pour enlever la belle Syringue," and so on. Bunel was so anxious to be accurate in his pictures of the kings and queens that he and his wife journeyed all over France in search of original portraits in churches, chapels, cabinets, and windows. The whole of these decorations were destroyed in the fire of 1660.

Meanwhile work had been proceeding rapidly on the side to the Tuileries. Immediately to the west of the little gallery, and on the river front, was the Salle des Antiques, begun by Catherine de Médicis,¹ finished, according to Sauval, for Henri IV by Thibault Metezeau, decorated by Du Breul, and so encrusted with marbles that Sauval says it resembled a reliquary, or a German cabinet. The part played by the Metezeau family at the Louvre is one of its many problems. The Metezeau family had been connected with building for at least two generations. Clément Metezeau, who died before 1550, was a mason at Dreux. His son Thibault, born in 1535, is described as architect of the Duc d'Alençon and of Henri II, and is supposed by Berty to have designed the ground-floor of the Petite Galerie. In regard to the Salle des Antiques, as he died in 1596, and Henri IV did not enter Paris till 1594, it is probable that Sauval has confused him with his son, Louis Metezeau, who is described in the register of Dreux (1596) as "Architect and Controller of the King's buildings," and in 1608 was "architecte du Roy," and "concierge et garde des meubles du Palais des Thuileries," at the large salary of 2,400 livres a year, just double what was being paid to Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.² That the second appointment had nothing to do with architecture is shown by the fact that he was succeeded in 1615 by Charles Albert de Luynes, the favourite of Louis XIII. On the other hand, he is known to have been associated with Francini, the Florentine engineer, in the design of the decorations made to receive the Queen at Dreux in 1610; and among Marot's engravings is one of the Hôtel de

¹ Sauval, ii, 42. This building was known as the Salle des Ambassadeurs, because it was here that the King gave audience.

² It appears that Louis Metezeau superseded Jacques Androuet du Cerceau in 1594 at a salary of 800 livres. The latter objected, and succeeded in getting the appointment suspended for three years (see Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 191-192), but in 1608 Louis Metezeau was "architecte du Roy," receiving 800 livres a year more salary than Du Cerceau and Fournier, "autres architectes de sa Majesté."

Longueville ("Rue S. Thomas du Louvre, du dessein du S^r Metezeau"), built for the Duc d'Epéron early in the seventeenth century. This was a large house built round three sides of a court, with a screen wall next the street, and façades in two storeys, with pairs of Ionic pilasters with niches dividing the bays on the ground-floor, with the same treatment with the Corinthian order in the upper storey. It is a common-place design, rather like that of the Hôtel de Sully. Louis Metezeau is one of the four claimants to the honour of having designed part of the Grande Galerie, but for reasons which I state below it is more likely that Du Pérac was the architect, the probability being that the man who designed the south façade of the little gallery designed the first half of the Grand Gallery, and this was begun before Louis Metezeau was established in his office.

The work of completing the Grand Gallery was, in fact, the earliest undertaken by Henri IV. He entered Paris on 22nd March 1594, and in September of that year a decree was issued enacting that all proceeds from fallen timber were to be devoted to the works at the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the Chapel of the Valois; and by a public decree, in the following December, the tenth of all sums resulting from the sale of wood from the royal forests was to be devoted to the Louvre, Tuileries, St. Germain-en-Laye, and Fontainebleau. The first block undertaken at the Louvre extended from the south end of the Petite Galerie up to the Pavillon de Lesdiguières, as it is now called,¹ and formed a symmetrical façade to the river, the design of the Petite Galerie and the Salle des Antiques being repeated at the west end. The works were completed by 1598. Who was the architect? Four names have been given: Louis Metezeau, Plain, Fournier, and Du Pérac.² The difficulty about Metezeau is first that in 1594-6 he was a comparatively subordinate official, and if he did actually design the first floor of the Grand Galerie, as Berty supposed, it is strange that not only should he have been superseded, but his design absolutely ignored, when it came to the building of the second part in 1600.

¹ The original pavilion here was known as "La Lanterne des Galeries."

² Brice, "Description de Paris," i, 157, ed. 1725, is the only authority for assigning it to Metezeau, but Brice is not to be trusted. He also says that Louis Metezeau designed the dyke at the siege of La Rochelle in 1627-8, though Metezeau is known to have died in 1615. Brice has also gone astray in regard to Du Pérac and Du Cerceau, attributing to Du Pérac the part that was certainly done by Du Cerceau. Blondel repeats Brice's mistake, "Architecture Française," iv, 69. D'Argenville, "Voyage Pittoresque de Paris," 58 (ed. 1765), also repeats Brice, but his book, though of a certain interest, has no pretence to anything more than the accuracy of an ordinary guide-book.

Plain and Fournier were only builders, Sauval's words are conclusive on the point.¹

Etienne du Pérac, of Paris, first appears in Rome in 1569;² in 1575 he published at Rome his "*Vestigi dell' antichità di Roma*," a quarto volume of thirty-eight folding plates, giving perspective views of the ancient buildings of Rome as they were when he drew them. The drawings are not good, and are badly engraved, but the work is of greater historical value than the ingenious restorations of Palladio, who was indifferent to the accurate record of facts. Du Pérac returned to France in 1582, and is said to have been employed by the Duc d'Aumale at Anet and elsewhere, and numbered among his pupils Claude Mollet,³ the designer of the Tuileries gardens. Félibien says that he was architect to the King, and carried out important works at the Tuileries and St. Germain-en-Laye, and that he died in 1601. Of these works there is no trace at all.

It is evident from the above dates that the period of Du Pérac's studies was not later than 1550 to 1575, if not earlier still, that is to say, Du Pérac really belonged to the generation of De l'Orme, and this would explain the curious character of the design of the first part of the Grande Galerie. The elevation consists of a ground storey with rusticated pilasters, a mezzanine storey, and above this, small engaged pilasters in pairs on either side of windows with alternate segmental and triangular pediments and niches between each bay. The design is learned and scholarly, but it is trifling in scale, and suggests the courtyard of Ancy-le-Franc; indeed its inspiration might well have been drawn from Bramante. It is just such a design as one would

¹ Sauval, ii, 3: "Fournier et Plain bâtirent le second étage [of the Petite Galerie] sous Henri IV." See also Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 77. The Fourniers were master-masons, cabinet makers, and jewellers. Isaye Fournier is described in 1608 as "architect du Roi" in a statement of wages to the officials of the Louvre and Tuileries (Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 205), and a Fournier appears with Du Cerceau as "architecte de sa Majesté" at a salary of 1,200 livres. On the other hand, in 1600, Isaye Fournier appears in the company of Guillaume Marchand, Pierre Chambiche, François Petit, Pierre Guillain, and Robert Marquet, as "maîtres maçons assurez au marché de la maçonnerie et construction de la Grande Galerie qui doit aller du Château du Louvre au Palais des Tuileries" (Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 201). The term "architecte" was used so loosely for any one connected with building that little can be inferred from its appearance in the account. Elenor Fournier, sister of Isaye, was married to Pierre Biard, "maître sculpteur et architecte du Roy," the maker of the jubé of St. Etienne du Mont, in 1592, and Léon Lescot, nephew of the Sieur du Clagny, was godfather to one of the children in 1595. Most of the artists of the time seem to have married into each other's families.

² This is the date of an engraving of the Capitol at Rome by Du Pérac.

³ Claude Mollet, "Théâtres des plans et jardinages," 199, quoted by Berty.

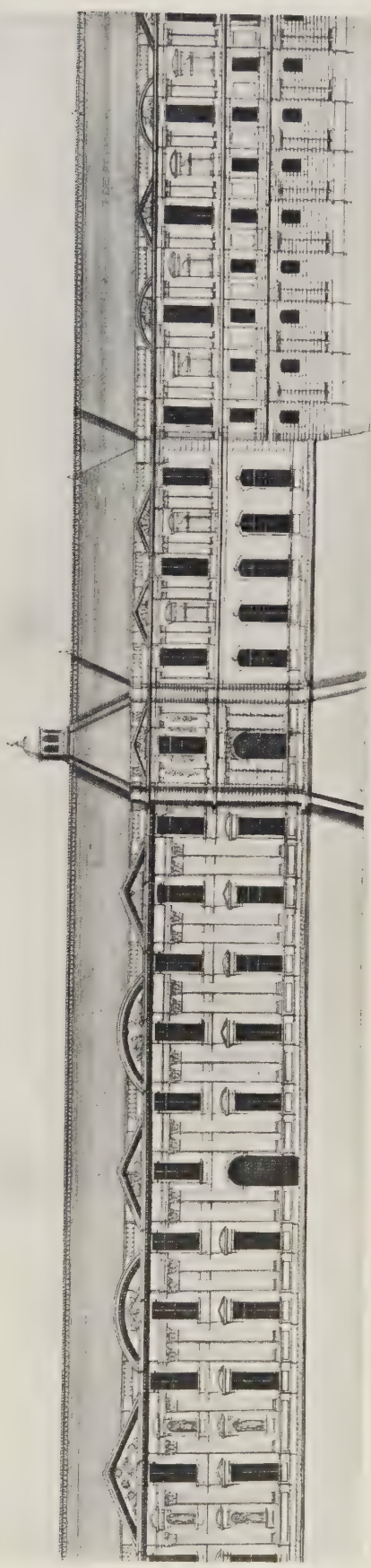
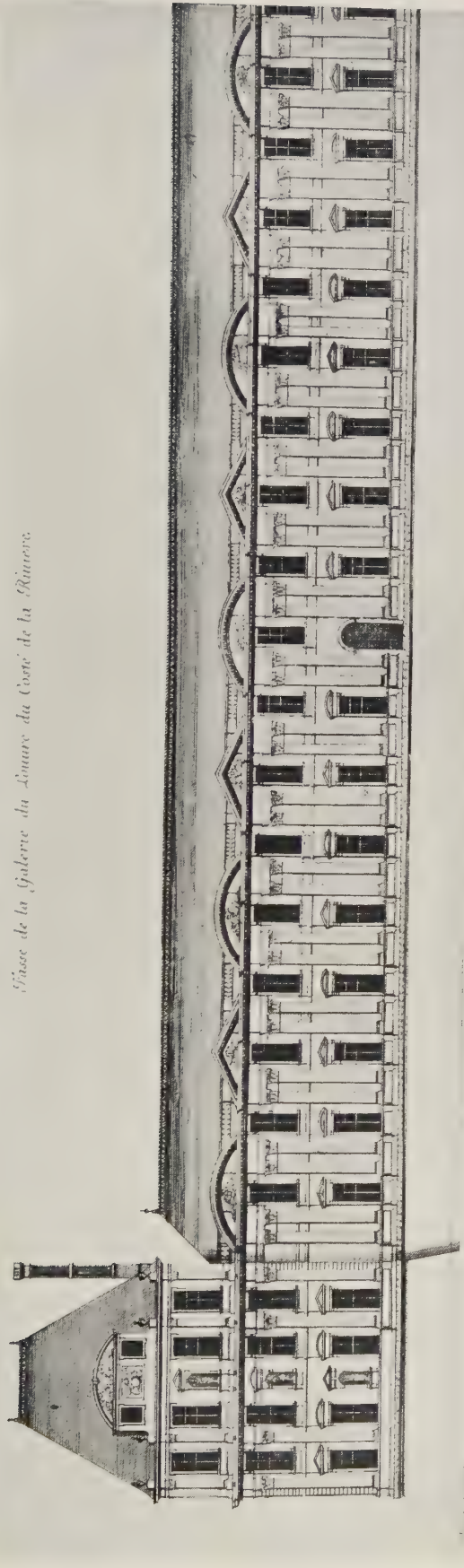
expect from an old man who had learned his manner in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, and, after the work that had been done by Bullant and De l'Orme, seems a throw back of two generations. The balance of evidence, in conjunction with the character of the design, leads to the conclusion that Du Pérac was the architect of the first part of the Grande Galerie which was completed before the end of the sixteenth century.

The second part, extending westward from the Pavillon des Lesdiguières to the Pavillon de Flora at the south-west angle, and including the return northwards up to Bullant's addition to the Tuileries, was almost certainly designed by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, the second son of the old engraver, who succeeded his brother Baptiste in charge of the Louvre in 1595, and who died in 1614. Jacques du Cerceau the younger was probably the ablest architect of the Du Cerceau family. The school in which he had studied is evident from his design. The colossal order, the reckless disregard of friezes and entablatures when they got in the way of windows, show the influence of Jean Bullant. One thinks of the châtelet at Chantilly, the frontispiece at Ecoen, the façade of the gallery at Fère-en-Tardenois, all experiments tending to the culminating effort of the Grande Galerie and the Pavillon de Flora. Du Cerceau simply turned his back on Du Pérac's design, only recognizing it by continuing the battered plinth and the balustrade. Having done that, he used an order twice the size of that of the earlier designs, and though purists have condemned the liberties he took with the orders, and the monotony of his alternate pediments, Du Cerceau's design was more attractive and even more reasonable than anything yet done at either the Louvre or the Tuileries.¹ Blondel, however, was most severe on Du Cerceau's design of the Pavillon de Flora;² he says that here are to be found all that is most licentious in architecture, bays of unequal width, quoins of different sizes, a solid where there ought to be a void, entablatures broken through for windows, in short, that every kind of abuse was presented in these monstrous decorations. He condemns, as the last

¹ The whole of this disappeared in the rebuilding of the river front by Lefuel and others in the last century and can only now be studied in Marot's engravings, which were used again by Blondel in his "Architecture Française." When French architects of the nineteenth century were called upon to restore a building, a palace, cathedral, château, or church, their idea was not so much to leave the building structurally sound, but otherwise intact, as to reconstitute the design entirely with such embellishments as commended themselves to the taste of the nineteenth century.

² "Architecture Française," iv, 84.

Élévation de la galerie du Louvre du côté de la Rivière



THE LOUVRE: GRANDE GALERIE (P. 36)
(The upper plate and left hand of lower by J. A. du Cerceau, the right hand of lower probably by Du Perac)

word in bad design, the solid space in the centre of the pavilion, with the three little niches one above the other. In regard to the façade of the gallery, the pilasters were too flat, the entablatures should have been carried through, and the repetition of pediments appeared to Blondel to be the *reductio ad absurdum* of this architectural feature. Of the two designs he preferred Du Pérac's, as the purer, though much too small in scale, and not unreasonably found fault with the total break in the design between the first part and the second, which would lead a stranger to believe that the two were intended for totally different purposes, instead of their both being built for the purpose of connecting the first floor of the Louvre with the first floor of the Tuileries. Blondel could find nothing to admire here, except the beauty of the sculpture and the finish of the architectural details, and summed up his criticism by saying that connoisseurs are as much pleased by the sculpture as they are revolted by the architecture.¹ Blondel was undoubtedly a fine judge of architecture, and there is much in what he says about Du Cerceau's design, but the weight of his learning and his logic sometimes lay heavy on his judgement. He has overlooked in Du Cerceau's design a certain largeness of treatment which carried on the tradition of Jean Bullant. In breaking away from the pettiness of earlier design Du Cerceau helped to bridge over the gap between the generation of De l'Orme and that of Lemer cier and the able architects who were to make the next great advance in the development of French architecture.

Not only did Henri IV complete the gallery joining the Louvre and the Tuileries, but he contemplated a vast scheme for combining the two palaces on the north side. He had already reserved sites on the side towards the rue St. Honoré for this purpose, and the "grand dessein du Louvre" is referred to in contemporary letters. The scheme was not actually realized till the time of Napoleon III, but it is a striking testimony both to the genius of Henri IV and to the progress of French architecture made in his reign, that such a vast conception as this "grande cour admirable" should have been possible at the time.² It appears that Henri also intended to complete the unfinished works

¹ "Architecture Française," iv, 86. "Les connoisseurs sont épris de la beauté du ciseau du sculpteur, et pour l'ordinaire sont révoltés du dessein de l'architecte. Cette critique néanmoins ne regarde que l'ensemble, certainement tous les profils considérés séparément sont ingénieux fermes et coulans, on leur reproche seulement de l'être mal appliqués, et d'une expression contraire au motif qui leur a donné lieu."

² The fragments of mural painting from the Louvre in the Galerie des Cerfs at Fontainebleau, in 1862, bear out the description given by Tavannes. See Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 97, 98.

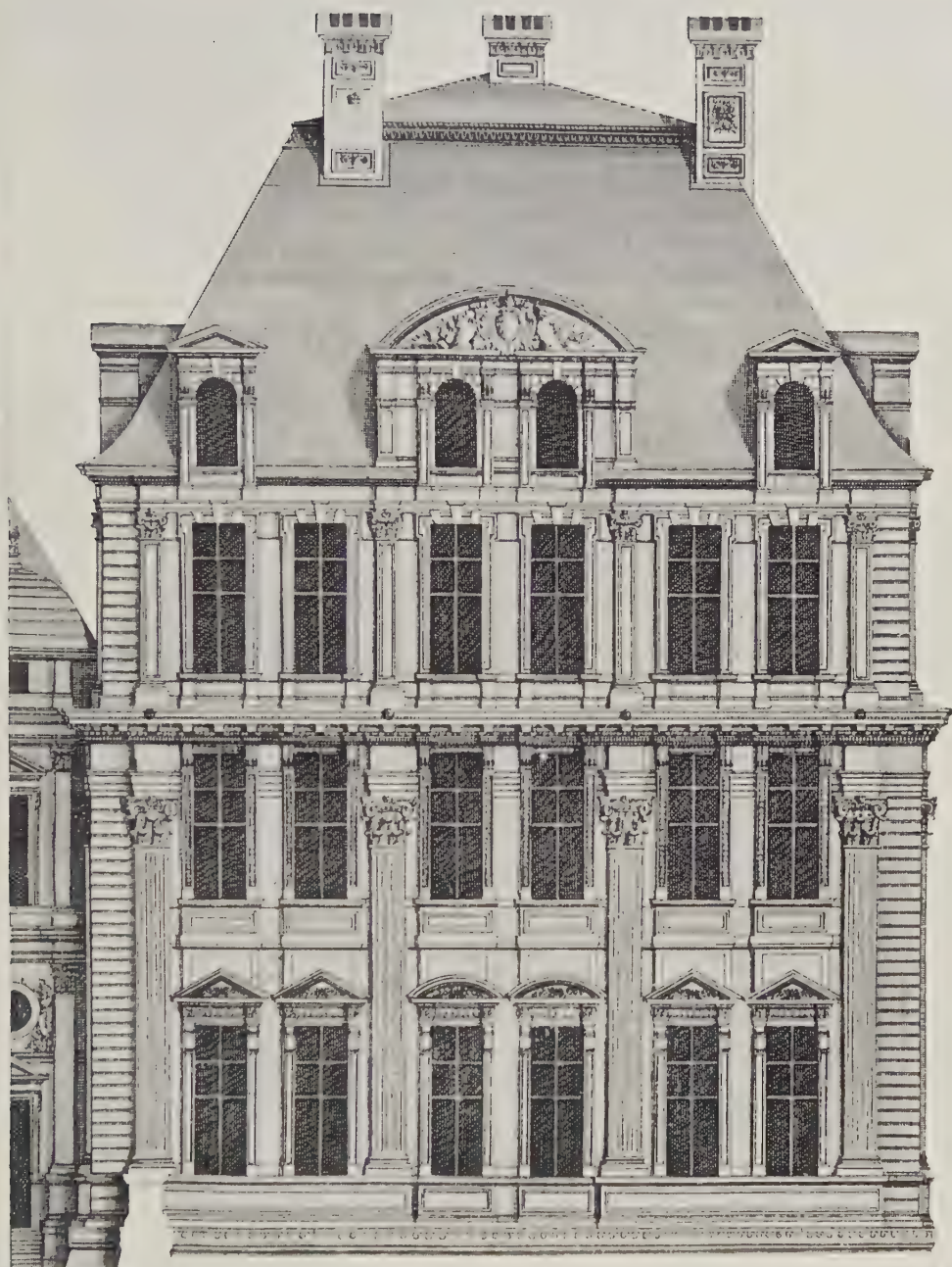
of the Louvre. Tavannes,¹ in his memoirs, says that had Henri IV lived, "loving building as he did, he would have made one most notable building by finishing the main block of the Louvre, of which the grand staircase (Henri II) only marked one half," though, as Tavannes added, to carry out this scheme he must have had "all the wealth of the Netherlands, of Burgundy, and of Savoy." The scheme was taken up by his son Louis XIII, who built the northern half of the west wing, but was only finally completed under Louis XIV.

Henri IV was no mere building amateur. Keenly interested as he was in building, he built with a purpose as definite and statesmanlike as that of Augustus Caesar when he re-organized Rome. The words of the letters patent of 1608-9, confirming the privileges of the artists of the Louvre, prove that the King was deliberately endeavouring to re-establish the arts in France. "Since," he says, "the culture of the arts is not the least among the benefits that have resulted from the peace, we have so arranged our buildings at the Louvre that we can conveniently lodge here a number of the best workmen and most competent masters that can be found, painters, sculptors, jewellers, clockmakers, engravers in precious stones, and others, not only for our own use, but also that they may serve as a nursery of craftsmen² who may spread the knowledge of the arts throughout our Kingdom." In the reigns of François I and Henri II, Italian and other artists were lodged in the Hôtel de Petit Nesle across the river, "the Bastille of Transalpine art," as Courajod called it. The Petit Nesle stood on the site of the present Institut, but the establishment appears to have been broken up by 1559, when François II gave it to the Queen-Mother as a chamber of accounts, and no further attempt appears to have been made to find quarters for artists till Henri IV completed the Grande Galerie of the Louvre. His idea was to bring together here the most skilful artists of the Kingdom, "afin de faire comme une alliance de l'esprit et des beaux arts avec la noblesse et l'épée" (Sauval, ii, 41). The state of his building only allowed him to find lodgings for some nineteen artists, among whom were Bunel the painter, Francheville the sculptor, Dupré the medallist, swordsmiths, jewellers, and others. These privileged persons excited the jealousy of the Guilds, who declined to recognize their apprenticeships or to treat them as qualified masters. The King cut the knot by exempting them altogether from the control of the Guilds.³ Moreover, Henri IV

¹ Quoted by Berty, ii, 96, 97.

² "Une pepinière d'ouvriers."

³ See Mariéjol, "Hist. Franç.," vi, 2, 74, and for the Petit Nesle, Piganiol de la Force, "Desc. Hist. de la Ville de Paris," viii, 187-188. Sauval only describes the



Elevation du grand Pavillon des Tuileries, bâti sous Henry II

Maret

THE TUILERIES: THE PAVILION OF FLORA (PP. 38, 39)

was determined as far as possible to employ French artists in preference to foreigners. All his architects were Frenchmen; so, too, were the sculptors, except Francheville and Bordoni.¹ The decorations at the Louvre he kept in the hands of Frenchmen, and his object seems to have been to foster and encourage a national art quite as much as to decorate his palaces. Nearly all the ideas under which the modern tradition of French art has been built up originated not with Louis XIV, but with Henri IV. From the artists of the Grande Galerie sprang the French academies, from the King's *pensionnaires* at Rome the future establishment of the Villa Médicis. The art of France was to be Romanized from top to bottom, but it was a settled policy with the rulers of France that only Frenchmen should be employed.

The same far-seeing policy is to be traced in Henri IV's various schemes for the improvement of Paris. That the King was an enthusiastic builder is proved by the testimony of his contemporaries.² His ambition was to rival François I in building,³ but whereas that King had devoted his energies to his palaces and hunting-boxes, and done little or nothing for Paris, Henri IV was the first ruler since the days of Imperial Rome who undertook great building operations as a matter of set policy, and for patriotic objects. The trades had been left in a state of complete disorganization by the civil wars, and it is expressly stated by Chatillon, one of the royal engineers, that the King's object was to find work for the people; "le grand monarque, Henri IV, s'affectionna extrêmement à l'architecture, la faisoit revivre et prendre plus de lustre qu'elle n'avoit faict es siècles passées, poussée d'un juste désir de faire bien à tous, et de faire travailler et gagner le menu

other Hôtel de Nesle or Hôtel de Soissons, on which Catherine de Médicis built her last house.

¹ Bordoni made the great altar in the Chapel of La Trinité at Fontainebleau. The decorations of Fontainebleau appear to have formed an exception, as in addition to Francheville and Bordoni, Ambrose Dubois of Antwerp was employed to decorate the "chambre de l'ovale," where Louis XIII was born, in 1601. In this room he painted fifteen pictures from the story of Theagenes and Charicleia (Heliodorus), with landscapes by Paul Brill. Francheville, or Franqueville, an able sculptor and founder, was extensively employed in France. He made the statues of Force and Peace on either side of the chimney-piece of the Salle des Gardes at Fontainebleau. Besides the four bronze figures from the monument to Henri IV on the Pont Neuf (figures, by the way, with the most delightful *patina*), there are also by Francheville in the Louvre two excellent figures of Mercury and Orpheus, and a very commonplace David. On the evidence of these works he seems to correspond to Nicholas Stone in England, but was a much more accomplished artist.

² "Si tost qu'il fut maistre de Paris, on ne veut que maçons en besogne" ("Le Mercure François," 1610, i, 488, quoted by Poirson, iii, 522).

³ De Thou.

peuple.”¹ Saint Simon mentions a saying of the three Places in Paris: “Henri IV avec son peuple sur le Pont Neuf: Louis XIII avec les gens de qualité à la Place Royale: et Louis XIV avec les maltotiers [extortioners] dans la Place des Victoires.” Saint Simon makes the characteristic comment: “Celle de Vendôme, faite longtemps depuis, ne lui a guère donné meilleure compagnie.”²

His second motive was to transform Paris; not only did he aim at making it healthier and more convenient for its inhabitants, but he definitely wished to make that city the national centre of France. In the year 1600 the condition of Paris must have been simply deplorable. According to M. Poirson,³ the streets were so narrow that even hand-carts would hardly pass through them. The houses were nearly all of wood and plaster, carried up several storeys and overhanging as well. “L’espace et l’air étaient encore le privilège des rois, des seigneurs, des membres du haut clergé, des riches financiers.” The “Rue des chats” at Troyes still shows a condition of things that must once have been general. It is some 6 ft. to 7 ft. wide at the ground level, but the storeys overhang so much that the sky is invisible in parts of this alley, and the upper storeys are kept apart by wooden struts which appear to be almost as old as the houses themselves. In Paris there were only some five or six insignificant public squares, the largest being the “Place de Grève” of sinister and bloodstained memories. There were only two bridges completed, the Pont Notre Dame built by Il Giocondo a hundred years before, and the Petit Pont. The Pont Neuf was still unfinished. Drainage and sanitary regulations scarcely existed, with the result that every ten years there was a plague of some sort or another, and in 1596 the assembly of notables had to move from Paris to Rouen. Paris, says Poirson, “was little better than a common sewer” when Henri IV took it in hand. The work that he did in attempting to cleanse and civilize the town is of great importance in the history of modern architecture, because it was the first attempt since the days of Rome to deal with an existing city on a comprehensive and consecutive scale, and Henri IV was in fact the founder of that great tradition of civic planning which has been one of the most important contributions of French architecture to civilization. The rudimentary lead of the “Bastides” had not been taken up, and though a great piazza or public space round the chief municipal buildings had

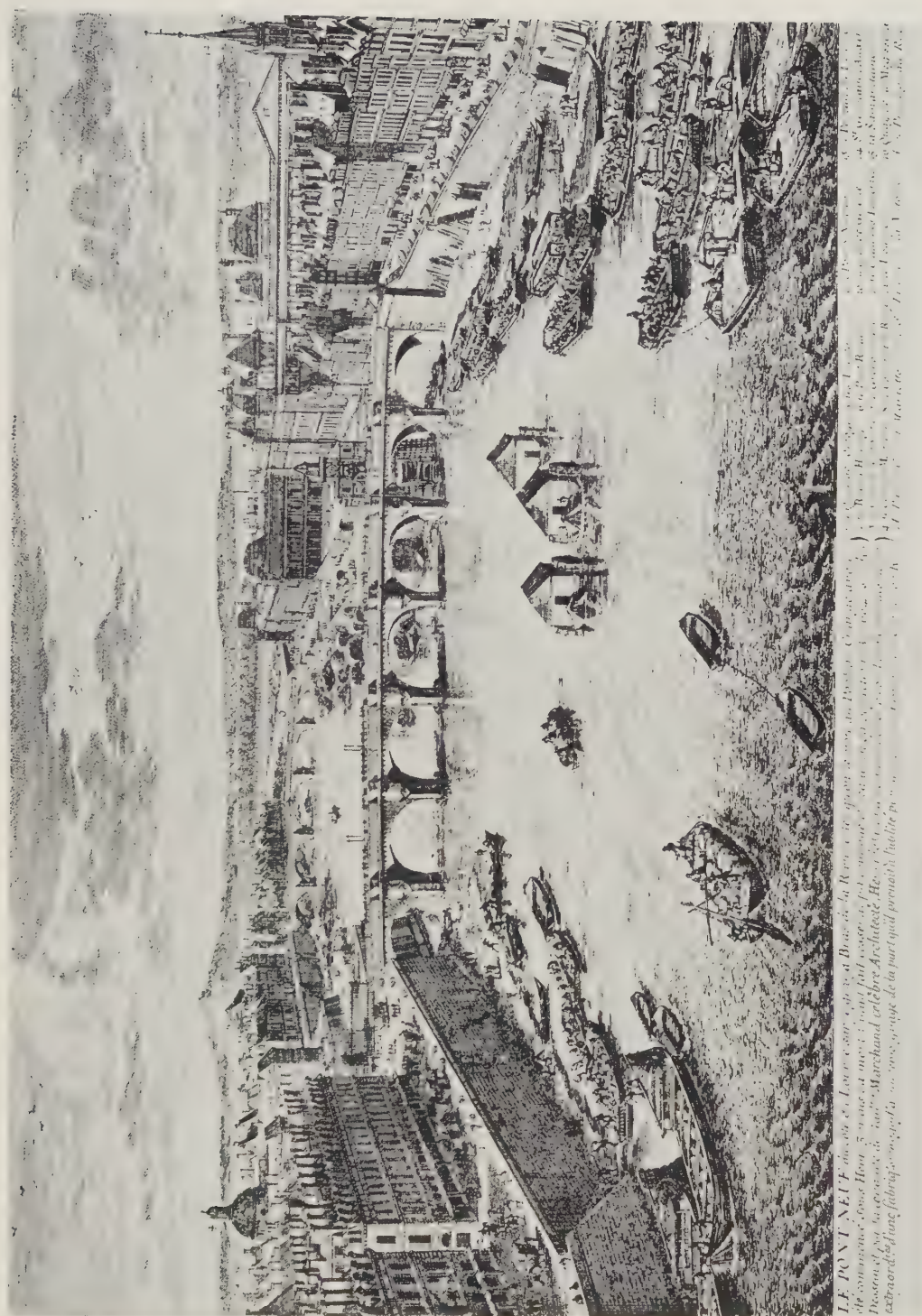
¹ Quoted in “Gazette des Beaux Arts,” 1870, iii, 565.

² “Mémoires,” Ed. de la Bédollière, i, 103.

³ “Histoire du Regne de Henri IV,” iii, 625-626.

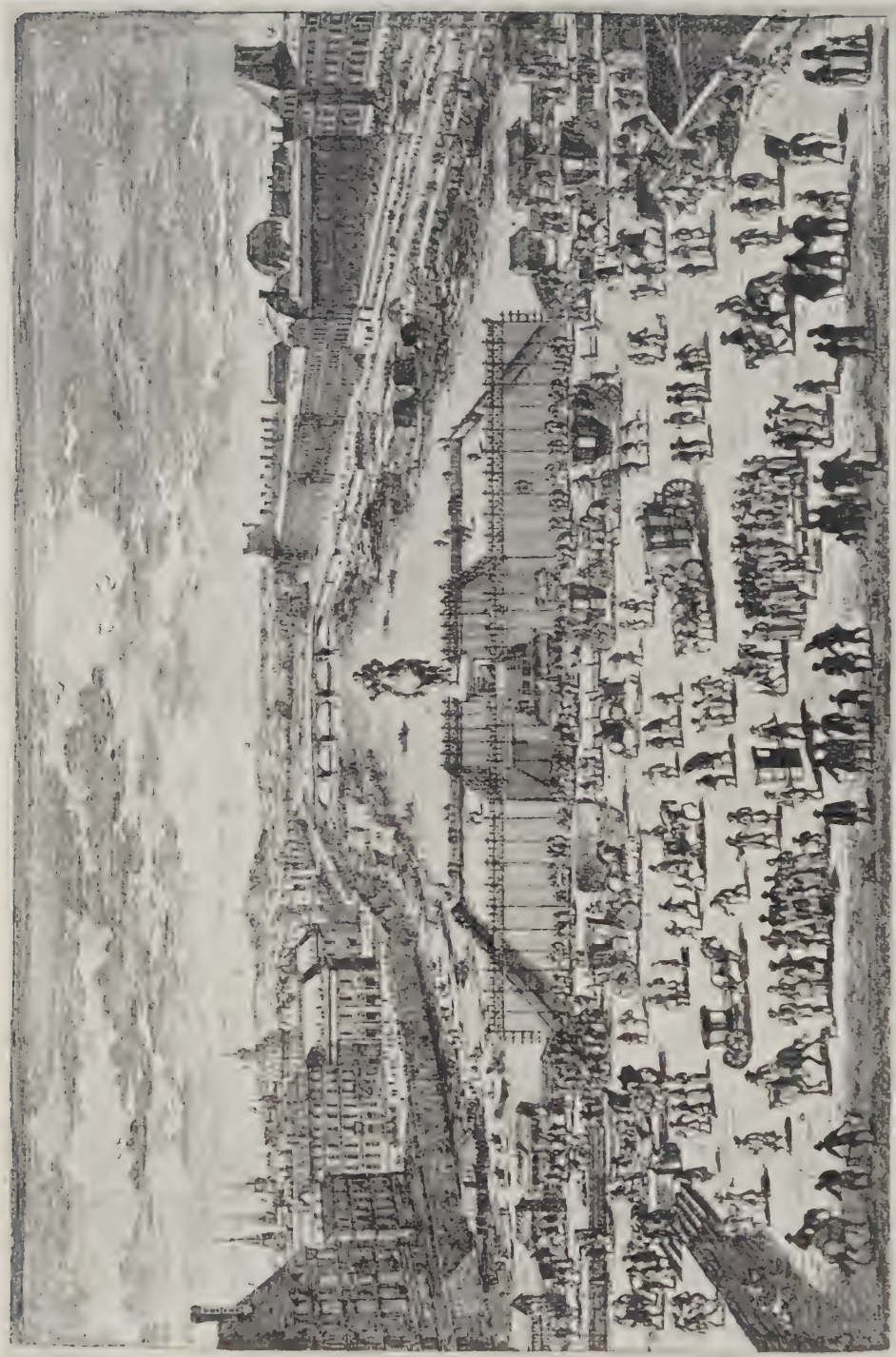


AN OLD STREET IN TROYES: LA RUE DES CHATS (P. 42)



THE PONT-NEUF: THE NORTHERN ARM (P. 43)

[*Perelle* sc.



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[Perelle sc.]

been usual in the mediaeval city, this was by no means the same thing as the schemes of re-arrangement initiated by Henri IV, and modern treatises which deal with them as if they were are simply confounding two totally different groups of facts.

In 1600 an ordinance was issued for the enlargement, alignment, and paving of streets, and forbidding overhanging storeys. This was re-issued in 1608, and in spite of the state of the finances, some very considerable works were undertaken under the general directions of Sully as "grand voyer" or Surveyor-General. The Pont Neuf and the Samaritaine formed the first great scheme. The Pont Neuf, crossing the river east of the Louvre, had been begun under Henri III in 1578, from the designs of Baptiste du Cerceau, but it had been left incomplete, and the scheme was taken up again by Henri IV, and sufficiently completed by 1604 to admit of traffic.¹ Du Breul describes the bridge in his time as consisting of twelve arches, seven on the side of the Louvre, five on the opposite or south side of the Isle de Palais. Above the arcade ran "une double corniche d'un pied et demy de large, laquelle est soutenue de deux pieds en deux pieds de têtes de sylvans, satyres et dryades, ornées de fleurs et festons à l'antique." Above this was the parapet wall, with "culs-de-lampe"² projecting from every pier. As first designed, the bridge was intended to carry houses on both sides, following the precedent of Il Giocondo's design of the Pont Nôtre Dame (1507), but these were omitted by express desire of the King, in order not to block the view to and from the Louvre.³ The Samaritaine stood to the west of the bridge. Du Breul says that above the figures on the front of the Samaritaine was "une industrieuse horloge," which not only marked the hours, but showed the courses of the sun and moon, and above the clock was a belfry and a carillon, which when the hours came "played one tune after another, which could be heard afar off, and was very refreshing." The Place du Pont Neuf appears to have been completed by the end of the reign, though the statue of Henri IV by John of Bologna⁴ that used to stand here

¹ Du Breul, "Théâtre des Antiquitez de Paris," ed. 1639, 184-186.

² "Culs-de-lampe," small bays round on plan and corbelled out. Daviler, art. "Culs-de-lampe," says: "Saillie de pierres ronde par leur plan, qui portent en encorbeillement la retombée d'un arc doubleau, d'une Tourelle, d'une Guerite, etc., comme on en voit aux demilunes du Pont Neuf à Paris."

³ Du Breul, 186.

⁴ See description in Marot's plate of the Pont Neuf. The statue was destroyed in 1792. It was presented by Cosmo, second Grand Duke of Tuscany, to Marie de Médicis. The pedestal was of marble with four slaves and bas-reliefs by Francheville. The figures are now in the Louvre.

was not in position till 1615, and the pedestal was not completed till 1635.

The Place Royale, now the Place des Vosges, was the next great undertaking.¹ The King's object was to let in light and air to the Quartier St. Antoine. The Palais des Tournelles was cleared away, and a vast square of a superficial area of 5,184 toises was formed, to be surrounded by blocks of buildings and pavilions, nine in each of three of the sides, and eight on the fourth. All the buildings had to be of a uniform design in brick and stone, with arcades on the ground floor of arches, 8 ft. 6 in. wide and 12 ft. high, with Doric pilasters between, and above the pilasters the favourite motive of alternate quoins carried up two storeys to the eaves, above which is a steep slate roof with dormers. The King himself started the work, by building at the ends of the side wings the "Pavillon du Roi," and the "Pavillon de la Reine," and the houses along the side terminated by the latter. The rest of the site he offered to the public, at a ground rent of a golden crown for each site, on condition that each lot was indivisible, and that the government design was followed. So well was the work done that it has needed little repair in the three hundred years that have passed since the place was built, "*la solidité des maisons est à toute épreuve.*"²

The Place Dauphine, immediately to the west of the Palais de Justice, and between it and the Pont Neuf, was begun in 1607. This was a waste untidy bit of ground of an area of some 3,120 toises.³ At the King's suggestion, Achille Harlay, first President of the Parlement, took up the whole of the site at a rent of one sou per toise, on condition that all buildings on it followed the official design, which consisted of symmetrical elevations on all three sides of the triangular space, built in brick and stone, with an arcade to the Place on the ground-floors. The Place Dauphine was intended to form a Change and meeting place for merchants in the centre of the city, and new streets, such as the rue Dauphine, thirty-six feet wide, were formed to open it up.

The last and, on the whole, most comprehensive enterprise undertaken by the King was the memorable scheme of the Porte et Place de France, situated in the Marais, on the north side of old Paris. According to M. Poirson, the object of this scheme was mainly political. Territorial unity had been attained since the union of Brittany with France, under Louis XII, but national unity, the unity

¹ Sauval, i, 624-627.

² Poirson, iii, 709. Unfortunately the roofs have been reslated, and most of the fronts painted.

³ Sauval, i, 628.

[illegible]

[*Perelle* sc.

THE PLACE ROYALE (P. 44)



[Perelle sc.]

THE PLACE DAUPHINE (P. 44)

of Breton, Provençal, or Burgundian, as Frenchmen, did not exist. Each of these provinces retained with some jealousy their corporate entity. It was a main object in the policy of the King to break down this individualism, and to induce his subjects to consider themselves as Frenchmen first and above everything. The Porte et Place de France was to be the visible embodiment of this conception. As the countryman entered Paris from the north, he passed through an imposing gateway, the Porte de France, of brick and stone, with wings right and left, and found himself in a broad roadway, on the further side of which was an open semicircular space, 480 ft. wide at the base, and set out with a 240 ft. radius. Round this space were set seven separate blocks of buildings of brick and stone, the façades of which were designed in seven bays, with a ground-floor arcade, engaged tourelles at the angles, and steep pitched roofs with lucarnes and a cupola in the centre. Each block measured 78 ft. on the face, and was separated from its neighbour by a street 36 ft. wide, and to these streets were given the names of the principal provinces: Picardy, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, Guienne, Poitou, Bretagne, and Bourgogne. At the back of these blocks or "insulae" were gardens, and beyond, at a distance of 240 ft. from the buildings, a street laid out concentrically with the semicircle of the Place. Streets radiating from the centre divided this concentric roadway into lengths which were called by the names of the less considerable governments, Brie, Bourbonnais, Lyonnais, Beaune, Auvergne, Limousin, Perigord. Finally the continuations of the radiating streets beyond were called Saintonge, La Manche, Touraine, La Perche, Angoulême, Berri, Orléans, Beaujolais, Anjou. It was indeed, as M. Poirson says, "the most national, the most entirely French conception that any sovereign ever dreamt of," and had it been carried out it would have been a magnificent transformation of the Paris of that time. The new streets were to be continued right away through Paris from north to south, one roadway starting from St. Denis was to come to the Pont Neuf and the Place Dauphine, cross the bridge, and so out to the southern boundary of the city, another to the left ran out to the Isle St. Louis. One may well believe Sauval's story,¹ that Henri himself imagined the scheme, for which the drawings were made by his engineers, Aleaune and Claude Chatillon of Chalons. Sully started the work in 1609, but after the King's assassination it was dropped, and though it was resumed by Richelieu in 1626, that statesman had his hands too full

¹ "Histoire et Antiquités de la Ville de Paris," vi, 1, 632.

to carry it far, and the work was abandoned, and the only record of it left is the bird's-eye view by Poinsart engraved in 1640.¹

Outside Paris the most important works undertaken for Henri IV were the Chapel of La Trinité, the Galerie de Cerfs, and the Court of Henri IV at Fontainebleau, the low-lying group of the buildings to the east of the Cour Ovale.² The Chapel of La Trinité was only begun in the last year of his life, and its completion belongs to the following reign. The Galerie des Cerfs was built by Henri to join the Cour Ovale to the principal porter's lodge on the Place d'Armes. It consisted of a long passage-way on the ground-floor 245 ft. long by 22½ ft. wide, above which was the Galerie de Diane, built to please Gabrielle d'Estrées. The interior was completely altered under the first Napoleon, and the upper gallery was turned into a library, and finally decorated by Pujol for Louis XVIII and Louis Philippe. The exterior, which is of brick and stone, is an interesting example of that unpretentious architecture of brick and stone which is the most original contribution to French architecture of the reign of Henri IV, and of which the Place des Vosges is still an excellent example. The design is lacking in great architectural qualities, but there is a restraint in the details which redeems it from insignificance.³ It is not known who was the architect of the Galerie des Cerfs, or of the Cour Henri IV, with its bold and imposing entrance. The treatment of the pavilions recalls the entrances to the town of Richelieu, an authentic work of Lemercier. On the other hand, the rustications, and a certain heaviness of treatment, suggest Salomon de Brosse's work at the Luxembourg. As Lemercier was born in 1585, it is more likely that De Brosse was the designer. De Brosse, who was born in 1565, was already well known at the Court,⁴ and it is probable that he also designed the

¹ Reproduced in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts," 1870, iii, 560-567. Only eleven of the streets out of the original twenty-four were formed, namely, Poitou, Bretagne, Beaune, Saintonge, La Manche, Touraine, La Perche, Berri, Orléans, Beaujolais, and Anjou.

² In the "Domaine de la Couronne, Fontainebleau," p. 11, it is stated that Henri IV made "le grand étang qui borde au midi la Cour des Fontaines" and the "grand canal qui s'étant dans toute la longueur du Parc," but in Du Cerceau's general view of Fontainebleau (B.M., v, 69) the lake is shown in its present position.

³ It was in this gallery that M. Pacard, architect of the Palace of Fontainebleau, discovered the fragments of the painting of the Louvre. The lower gallery was decorated with thirteen views of the royal palaces painted by Du Breul. It was in this gallery also that the Marquis de Monaldeschi was murdered, in 1657, by order of Christina of Sweden.

⁴ In the year 1618 Salomon de Brosse was an "architecte du Roy" at the Louvre, St. Germain, Vincennes, and other places, and received 2,400 livres, whereas Jacques Lemercier, who is heard of in that account for the first time, is briefly called "autre architecte," and only received 1,200 livres. See Berty, "Top. Hist.," ii, 208-209.



[X. photo.

COUR HENRI IV: FONTAINEBLEAU (p. 46)



Photo.]

[*L. M.*

PAVILLON DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE: FONTAINEBLEAU (P. 46)
(FORMERLY GALERIE DES CERFS)

Pavillon de Sully, a small house at a short distance east of the Palace, which Henri built for his minister, and the curious "Baptisterie" or entrance to the Cour Ovale, a square cupola on stone arches, which the King had built in 1606, in order that his three children might be baptized under it in the presence of the Court. Apparently the Salle du Guet, built by François I, was demolished in order to make way for this building.¹ The additions made to Fontainebleau by Henri IV are important as illustrating what remained for many years the vernacular style in less important country houses. At the Louvre or at St. Germain the aim of the architects was more ambitious. Fontainebleau was always regarded rather as a country house than a palace, and the example set in the Cour Henri IV, the Galerie des Cerfs, and the Pavillon de Sully, was widely followed throughout the country.

Henri IV's buildings at St. Germain-en-Laye were scarcely less important than his additions to Fontainebleau. The old château stood too far back from the river for the view. A scheme had already been prepared for Henri II, by De l'Orme, for new buildings on the crest of the hill overlooking the Seine, and the theatre designed by De l'Orme was already built. Henry IV's alterations consisted in squaring up the outside of De l'Orme's building, and enclosing it by a new façade on the river front, with wings returning at either end, past the earlier buildings and at some distance from it. On the river front was formed a prodigious series of terraces and staircases leading down to the river, some 320 ft. below. Marchand, who finished the Pont Neuf, is described as having been the architect of this work, though it is more probable that he was the building contractor, and Alessandro Francini the Florentine engineer constructed some amazing water-works, including a grotto in which Orpheus was made to play on his lute, birds to sing, and trees to bend.² The work seems to have been badly done, for the buildings were ruinous before the French Revolution. There is now not a trace of it left, and the only records of it are contemporary descriptions, the plates of Israel Sylvestre, and the great view engraved by Francini in 1614.

Partly owing to the absence of materials, and still more to the erroneous tendency to identify the French Renaissance with François I, the importance of what Henri IV did to advance French architecture has been much under-rated. He was the first French King after

¹ See vol. i, p. 50.

² When a string of the lute was broken it cost Louis XIII three hundred crowns to have it repaired (Sauvageot).

François I to take any genuine interest in the arts, and it was due to his impulse that French architecture began to recover its tone and regain its place in the line of genuine development; for there is one far-reaching difference between the patronage of François I and Henri IV. François I was also an enthusiastic patron of the arts, but he seems to have been unable to consider art as a whole, and in its relation to the social and political life of his countrymen. The active personal part that he took in the direction of his artists in no way compensated for this failure in large ideas; it was, indeed, as I have already pointed out, actually injurious to the progress of the arts. The role of the intelligent ruler is not to interfere with artists in the details of their art, but to find them opportunity and elbow room, to stimulate the intellectual atmosphere in which they work; to apply wisely the resources of the state to their encouragement and support. It was to this great task, among many others, that Henri IV devoted himself, and it was in this way that he laid the foundations of all that has been most vital in France in the relations of the modern state to the arts. M. Poirson said justly, "ce qu'il accomplit fût énorme; ce qu'il projeta et commença fût immense: . . . il prépara dans l'avenir toute une révolution; les gouvernements et les administrations municipales qui ont changé la face du hideux Paris du moyen âge n'ont fait qu'appliquer ses idées."¹ In the largeness of his conceptions, and the statesmanlike patriotism of his aims, Henri IV was far ahead of his time. Louis XIV, with all his ambition for the greatness of his monarchy, could not rise to that high level; but he was fortunate in his generation, and he reaped the benefit of ideas which were due to the genius of his grandfather.

¹ Poirson, iii, 707.

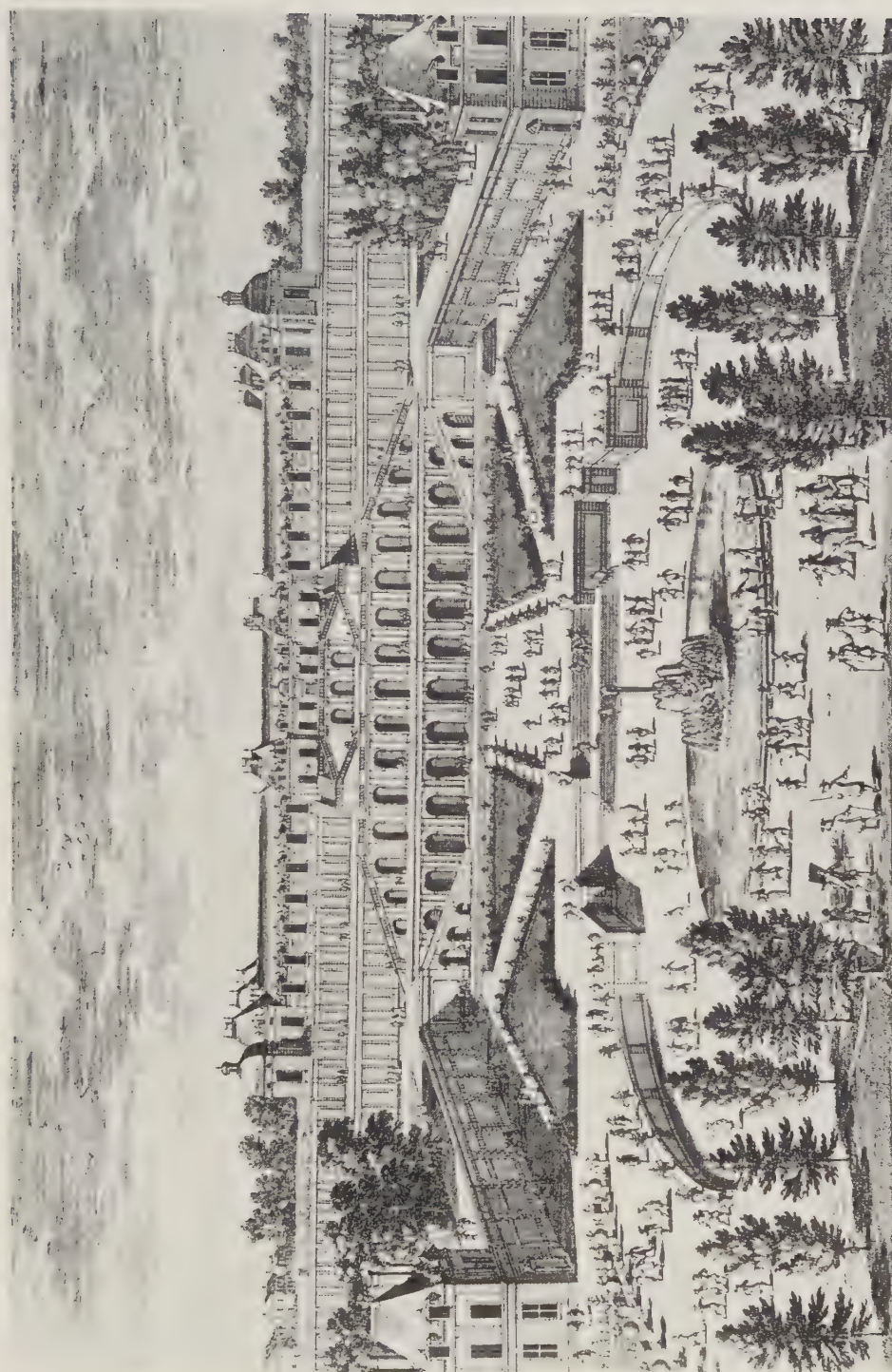


Fig.

Vue et Perspective du Chateau neuf de St Germain du côté de l'eau

[Perelle sc.]

S. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE; BUILDINGS OF HENRI IV (p. 47)

CHAPTER XIV

MARIE DE MÉDICIS, SALOMON DE BROSSE, JEAN DU CERCEAU

THE accounts for salaries¹ paid to officials employed on the royal palaces in the year 1618 opens with the following names: Salomon de Brosse, architecte, 2,400 livres, Clement Metezeau, architecte, 800 livres, Paul de Brosse, also architect, 800 livres, Jean Androuet du Cerceau, 500 livres; Ysabel de Hangueil, widow of Louis Metezeau, architect, 600 livres, Jacques Lemer cier, "another architect," 1,200, and Pierre Le Muet, a boy ("jeune garçon") retained by her Majesty to work at models and elevations of houses, 600 livres.

The names so brought together are suggestive. Salomon de Brosse belonged to the sixteenth century almost as much as to the seventeenth. Paul de Brosse and Jean du Cerceau were his nephews, and belong to the next generation. Lemer cier, who appears here for the first time, takes us well into the seventeenth century, and Le Muet, who is described as a mere boy, carries us down to the time of Louis XIV. The sequence, from the birth of De Brosse to the death of Le Muet, extends from Charles IX to Louis XIV, and covers about a hundred years of

¹ This most interesting account is given in full in Berty, "Top. Hist. du Vieux Paris," ii, 208-215. It includes painters, sculptors, carpenters, enamellers, gardeners, and engineers, and all the more important artists and tradesmen employed at the Louvre, Tuileries, St. Germain-en-Laye, Vincennes, and other royal palaces. Among the painters are an Erard of Nantes, perhaps the father of Charles Errard, the first Director of the French Academy at Rome, Simon Vouet, "étant de présent en Italie, cy devant retenu par sa Maj^{te} au lieu de René Lefranc, aussi peintre décédéd, qui y avoit esté envoyé par le feu Roy (Henri IV) pour se rendre capable de servir sa Maj^{te} en peintures et ornemens du dedans de ses maisons." Among the sculptors Bordoni, who succeeded Francheville, Guillaume de Pré, Pierre Mansart, sculptor (son of Jean, and probably related to the architect), Herbert Lesueur and Pierre Biard, "sculpteur, qui a cy devant servy soubz le sieur Francqueville, sculpteur, d'où il a esté en Italie, pour continuer ses estudes et se rendre capable de servir sa majesté en sculpture" (this, of course, is the younger Biard), Claude Mollet the gardener, Jean Nostre, gardener, Francini the water engineer from Florence, and many others. The Duc de Sully receives six thousand livres, as superintendent of buildings in Paris and St. Germain, one of the few appointments he retained after the death of Henri IV. There is a suggestive entry of payment to a gardener for attending to the grand parterre at the Tuileries, between the wood berceaux and the alley of mulberry trees, and for trimming the pole-hedges "tant de bois sauvages que de jasmein, coigners (?), grenadiers, arbres de Judée, etc."

momentous history in the development of France. Within that hundred years French architecture found itself. It emerged definitely from the experiments of the sixteenth century, and passed beyond the stage of merely playing with the orders to a real mastery of classical architecture. When Le Muet died, the tradition and ascendancy of neo-classic were as solidly established in France as the despotic power of the monarchy itself.

Another conclusion to be drawn from these accounts is that Marie de Médicis, with all her faults, was at least sympathetic in regard to the arts. In 1618 she was still Regent, and a comparison of the list of artists maintained by her in that year with the much smaller list of 1608,¹ shows that in this regard at any rate she followed Henri's policy of nursing the arts, for all these artists were supported out of the royal purse. Five at least of the architects were able men. Among the sculptors were Du Pré the medallist, Bordoni the Italian, Pierre Biard the younger, Herbert Lesueur, sculptor and bronze-founder, who executed the statue of Charles I, and the figures in the inner court of St. John's, Oxford. The Queen herself maintained Simon Vouet in Italy, in order to study the painting and decorations of houses; and it is important to note that at this period, when architecture was steadily advancing, great stress was laid on decorative painting. In nearly all the accounts of the royal buildings that have reached us, there are frequent entries of the painters employed in their decoration, not for easel pictures, but for frescoes on walls and ceilings. Thus the Queen pays a certain Sieur de Saint Moris 1,800 livres a year for invention of paintings and devices for her houses and galleries.² Erard is summoned from Nantes for the same purpose, and six other painters are named, all of whom were employed in similar work; not always of first-rate excellence, but always interesting in its decorative sense, and from a certain simplicity and sincerity of treatment.³ Most of it has now disappeared, but examples are still to be found in the provinces, as at Oiron and Saint Loup⁴ in Poitou and Chiverny in the Sologne⁵ (1634). In the Salon

¹ See Berty, ii, 207.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 209.

³ The small French room painted and panelled at the South Kensington Museum shows this kind of work at its lowest level. The quaint decorations at Bussy Rabutin (1640) are another example. See below.

⁴ In one of the rooms at Saint Loup the main beams of the ceilings are covered with leather gilt and painted with cupids, fruit, and flowers. Montgomery Ducey near Avranches is another example.

⁵ The date carved on stones. Chiverny is some eight or nine miles from Blois; "un nommé Boyer, de Blois, en fut l'architecte" (Félibien, "Mémoires," 64). See also chap. xx, p. 137.



CHIVERNY (p. 50)

or Salle des Gardes of Chiverny, the walls are painted with panels of flowers, daffodils, lilies, tulips, and others, each with their Latin motto; and the beams of the ceilings are covered with arabesques in white, black, green, yellow, and lilac, on a chocolate ground. This appears to be the earlier work, and takes us back to some of the decorations of Ancy-le-Franc, and even of the Queen's cabinet at Chenonceaux. In the *Chambre du Roi*, at Chiverny, the ceiling is deeply coffered in panels, all painted with figure subjects by an artist named Monnier, of Blois, and exceedingly decorative in effect.

We are here at the parting of the ways. There is a distinct reminiscence of Primaticcio's manner and the sixteenth century in the details of Chiverny. That manner was not ambitious, nor were its aims heroic. All it sought was a pleasant general harmony of colour and gilding, with quaint fancies in decoration, heathen gods and goddesses in cheerful if not always dignified circumstance, mingled as at Chiverny with devices of flowers from the garden; work that made no great demand on the imagination, and yet was entirely pleasant to live with. But before Monnier had begun his work at Chiverny, the gallery at the Luxembourg was finished, the taste for the dramatic and the heroic had come in with a rush. The pageantry of ancient Rome as given by the Carracci was the accepted theme and method of painting, and now Rubens with his irresistible brush had swept out the lesser men. His achievement was magnificent, and of vast importance for French art, but one cannot help regretting to some extent the loss of the poetical fancy, and a certain delicate instinct for decorative fitness which had been the best legacy of Primaticcio and the sixteenth century. Still the arts of France were on the move, and one has to accept a certain pose and convention before it is possible to appreciate the movement justly.

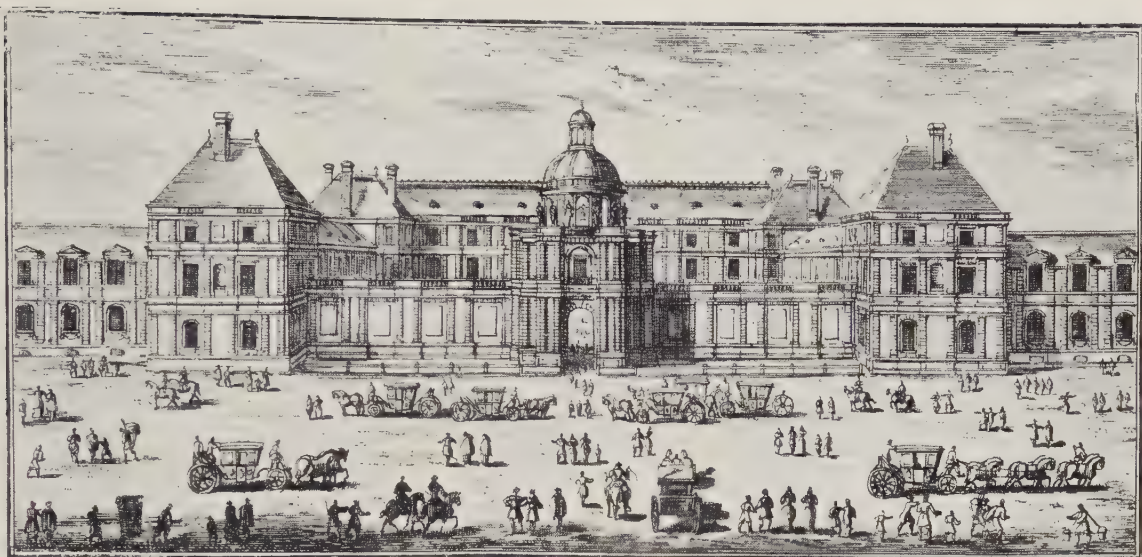
In 1612 Marie de Médicis¹ bought from the Duke of Piney-Luxembourg a large house and gardens on the site of the present Luxembourg, and in the following year a farm and various gardens adjoining the property,² including a windmill belonging to the Chartreux. In 1615 she had the whole site cleared, and called in Salomon de Brosse to build her a palace as a dower house. Salomon de Brosse, as already mentioned, was closely connected with the Du Cerceau family. He is

¹ Marie de Médicis was daughter of Francis II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of Jeanne of Austria, born 1573, and married to Henri IV in 1600.

² A. de Gisors, "*Le Palais du Luxembourg*," 33-39. De Gisors, following Blondel, calls De Brosse "Jacques"; he is called "Salomon" in the account for 1618.

usually described as the son of Jean de Brosse, and Bauchal gives the date of his birth at Verneuil as 1565, but in the account of 1618 already referred to Du Cerceau (that is Jacques Androuet the second) is referred to as his uncle lately deceased. So that Salomon must have been the grandson of the engraver and of Jean de Brosse of Verneuil. The large salary that he received in 1618 shows that he must have been an architect of considerable reputation, and therefore not a very young man, when he succeeded his uncle in 1614 in the charge of the Royal palaces; nor was the Luxembourg his first important work, for he had already designed the château of Coulommiers-en-Brie and the Hôtel de Bouillon in the rue de Seine now destroyed. According to the story, Marie de Médicis instructed her architect to copy the Pitti Palace, but either the story is a fable, or De Brosse must have hoodwinked his employer, for he did nothing of the sort. The Pitti Palace, begun in 1435 from the designs of Brunelleschi, and completed by Ammanati somewhere about 1570, is famous as one of the largest palaces in Italy, and architecturally for very little else. Ruskin excelled himself in his enthusiasm for the rustications of the Pitti Palace, "a stern expression of brotherhood with the mountain's heart from which it has been rent, ill exchanged for a glistening obedience to the rule and measure of man" ("Seven Lamps," 83). But after all what is architecture but an expression of the "rule and measure of man"? Rustications have no value in themselves, but only in their relation to other parts of a building otherwise treated. The façade of the Pitti is in three storeys with a balustrade running unbroken along the entire front. The whole façade from the ground up to the top cornice is rusticated, and presents an interminable series of roundheaded windows with deep voussoirs to the arches. On the whole, it is about the most brutal design for a palace front ever perpetrated, and its only possible justification might be that Luca Pitti, who built it, needed a fortress for himself and his ruffians. The only common feature in the two buildings is their free use of rustications, but though greatly overdone at the Luxembourg they are there handled with some regard to their architectural intention. There is, in fact, no sort of resemblance between the Pitti and the Luxembourg. But De Brosse was not altogether happy in the solution of his problem.¹ The site bought by Marie de Médicis lay

¹ The Palace of the Luxembourg has been materially altered in the many transformations it has undergone since the days of the first Napoleon, and we have to depend on Marot's plates and contemporary descriptions to realize what it was in the seventeenth century. The palace was a good deal altered in 1734 (Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," ii, 50),

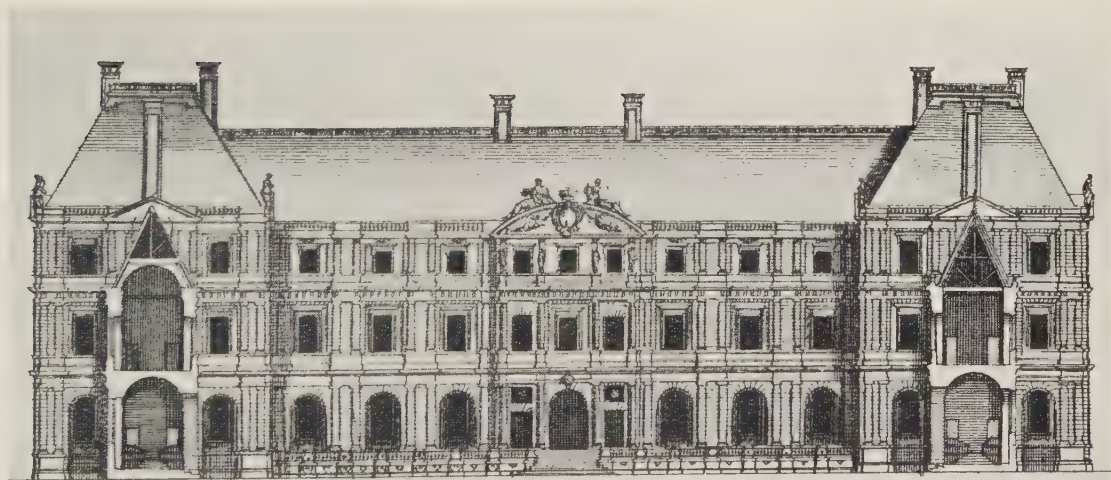


Le Palais d'Orléans appelle' Luxembourg.

A Paris chez J. Marssette rue St Jacques à la Victoire

*Avec Privilège du Roy
[Perelle sc.]*

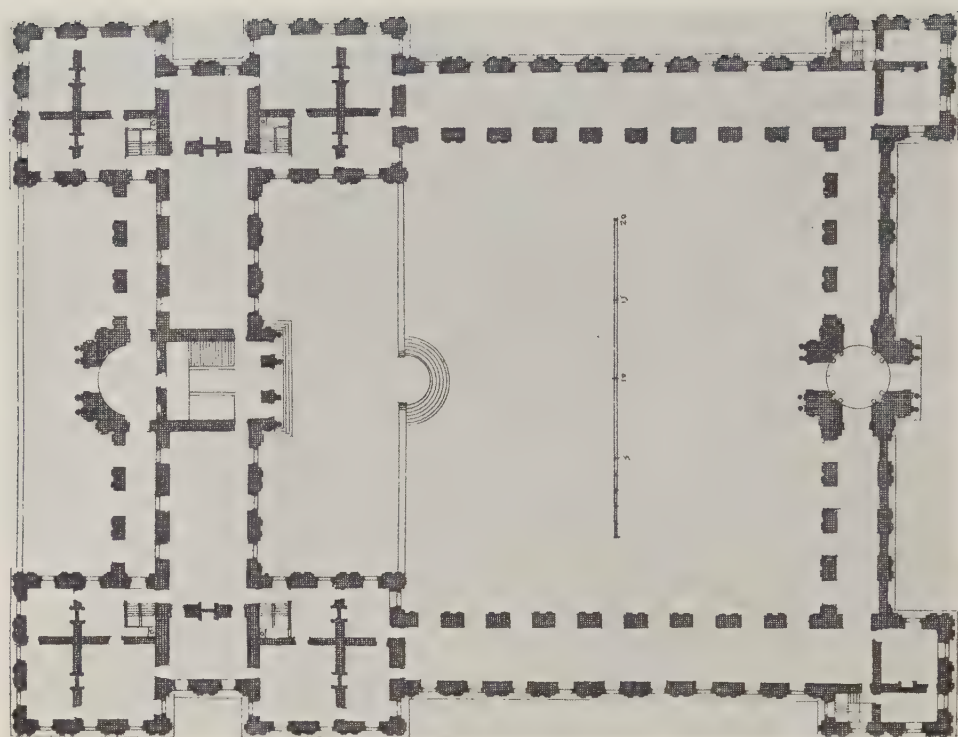
THE LUXEMBOURG (P. 52)
(SOLOMON DE BROSSÉ, ARCHITECT)



32 Toises.

[Marot]

THE LUXEMBOURG: ELEVATION TO COURTYARD AND SECTION THROUGH GALLERIES



[Marot

THE LUXEMBOURG: GROUND PLAN (P. 53)



[Marot

THE LUXEMBOURG: SECTION AND SIDE ELEVATION TO COURT

parallel to the street¹ in its greatest length, instead of at right angles to it. There was room, however, to set the building back, so that the entrance front would be seen in full by any one approaching the palace, but De Brosse made the mistake of bringing the front of his Court of Honour right up to the street, with the result that, as there is no "place" in front of it, the composition is not visible at any distance as a whole. He probably relied on his principal buildings showing up as a background to the Belvedere over the main entrance. The plan consisted of a large court 180 ft. wide and 210 ft. long, surrounded on three sides by buildings. To the right and left were galleries in two storeys. In that on the upper floor on the right were the series of scenes from the life of Marie de Médicis, painted by Rubens (now in the Louvre), and it was intended that a similar series from the life of Henri IV should fill the left hand gallery. At the two outer angles next the street were lofty pavilions in three storeys, standing forward into the street, with steep pyramidal roofs; between these pavilions was a one-storey gallery with a terrace above it, and in the centre the principal entrance, with a square storey above it carrying a circular Belvedere. The principal buildings were on the farther side of the Cour d'Honneur. Six circular steps led up from the court to a broad terrace, separated from the court by a balustrade and extending to the main block. The plan of this was H-shaped. At either end were two large pavilions, 60 ft. square with a recess in the centre, forming the side wings and joining these wings was a single thickness building, separating the terrace of the Court of Honour from the gardens at the back. On the garden side was a gallery and terrace, running the whole length between the pavilions. The principal staircase was in the centre, with a low passage way under it to the garden vestibule (Blondel says it was much too low and narrow for its purpose), and on the first floor, above this vestibule, and at the back of the main staircase was the chapel. To the right and left of the main stairs on the first floor were guard rooms, giving access to the principal rooms in the four great pavilions. The only access to the galleries was through these rooms, except for two subsidiary staircases in the pavilions on the front to the street. Like most of the plans of the time, it covered a great deal of ground, and gave comparatively very little accommodation.

when the top floor was remodelled, but Blondel's plates reproduce Marot's engravings made before any alteration.

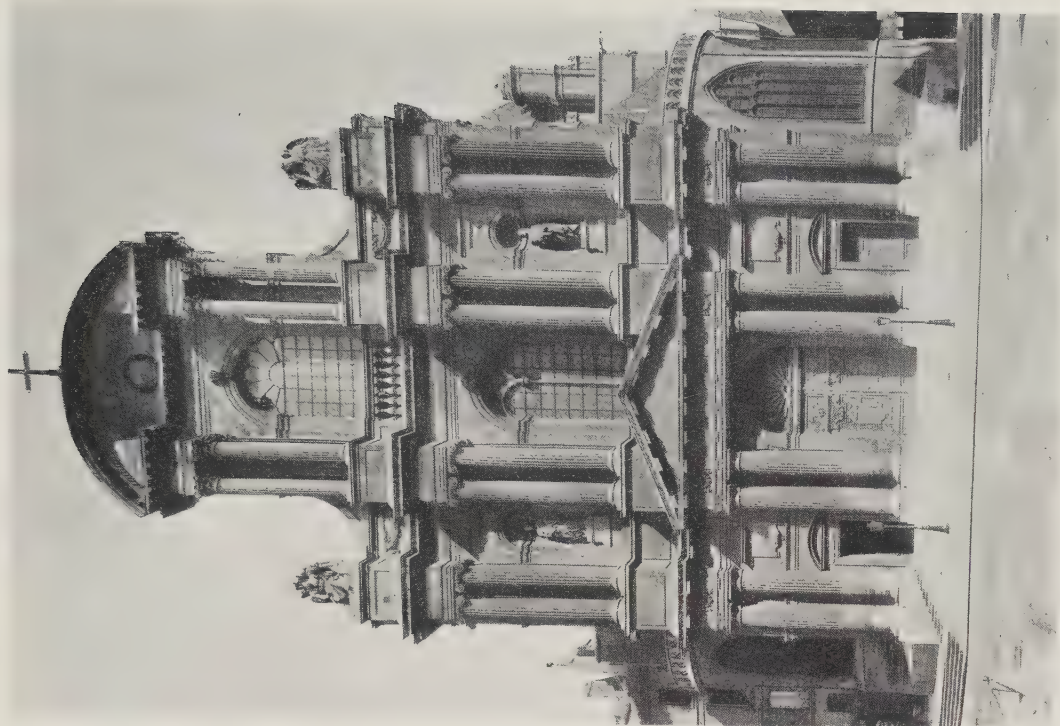
¹ The rue de Vaugirard.

² Measured from internal face of the buildings next the street to the face of the buildings on the further side of the terrace to the Cour d'Honneur. Plan in the *Petit Marot*.

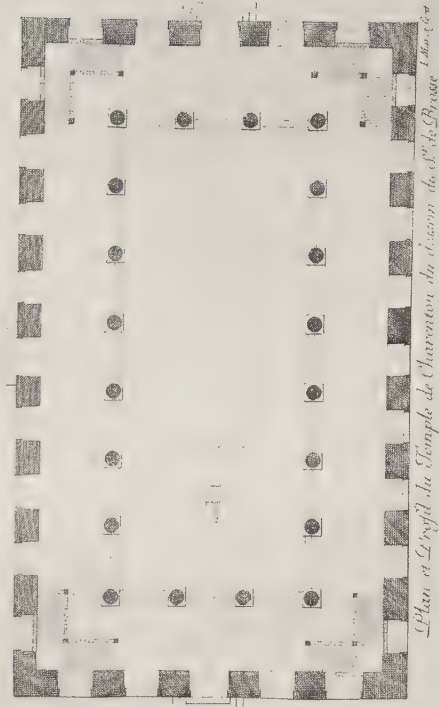
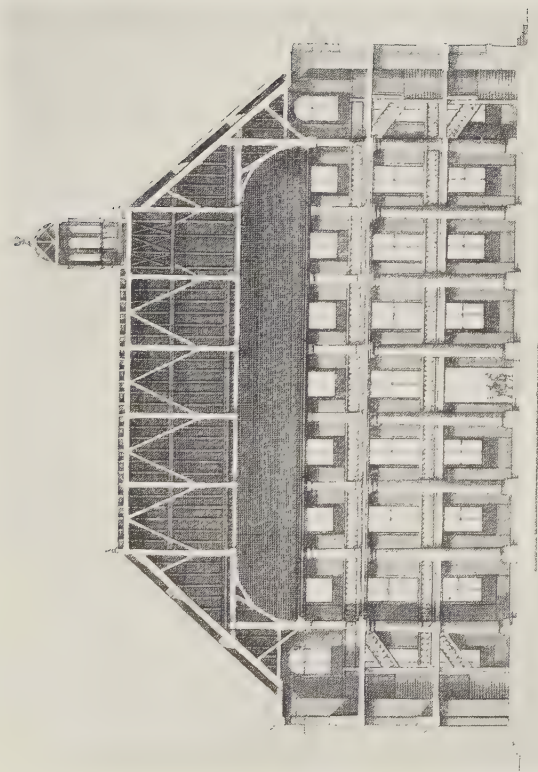
There were other faults in the plan. The terrace in the Court of Honour was picturesque from the court, but it involved crossing some 50 ft. in the open before one could enter the house; and Blondel is severe on the great projection of the pavilions on the garden side which shut out the view from the centre part. In the elevations De Brosse used three orders, Tuscan, Doric, and Ionic, for the pavilions, and a composite order for the attic of the centre part. Each order had its entablature with a pedestal course above it, and above the top cornice of the pavilions and at the springing of all the immense roofs there were balustrades. Every storey was rusticated, and all the entablatures and pedestal cornices were returned round every pair of pilasters. Blondel, whose criticism of this building is one of the best of his many admirable appreciations, says that the beauties of the Luxembourg consist in its virility, the severity of its forms, the purity of its profiles, the proportion of certain parts, and in general in a certain taste based on the antique and maintained throughout the entire composition.¹ Having thus liberated his conscience he proceeds to some very severe criticism in detail. The Tuscan order was too fat, the Doric order too short, and the attic too low. Over the attic storey of the principal entrance to the main building, there was a segmental pediment, on which were two enormous figures, out of scale with the Caryatides below them and indeed with anything else in the building. These have long since disappeared, but Blondel's criticism is entirely borne out by his plates.

Scale is the touchstone of architecture, and these men of the first half of the seventeenth century were as yet by no means sure of their scale. We shall find a similar failure in Lemer cier's "Pavillon de l'Horloge" at the Louvre, some ten years later. Moreover De Brosse was given to working his motives to a standstill. The rustications of the Luxembourg defeat themselves by their repetition, and the constant returns of the entablatures over each pair of pilasters were tedious and irritating. Blondel finds fault with the variations in the height of different parts of the building, one storey in the front gallery, two in the two sides, three in the pavilions and main building. Such diversity, he says, is only tolerable in a building of great extent, where the object

¹ "Les beautés reconnues telles dans la décoration de ce Palais consistent dans la caractère de virilité qu'on remarque dans tout son ordonnance, dans la sévérité des formes, la pureté des profils, la proportion particulière de certaines parties, et, en général, dans un certain goût antique, également soutenue dans la totalité aussi que dans les détails de l'architecture et les ornements qui le composent" ("Arch. Franç., ii, 51). Blondel apologizes for his criticism.



ST. GERVAIS, PARIS (P. 56)
(DE BROSSÉ, ARCHITECT)



Le plan et l'élévation du Temple de Charenton du dessin de M. de Brossé

PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TEMPLE OF CHARENTON (P. 57)
(DE BROSSÉ, ARCHITECT)

is to produce a pyramidal composition, by supporting the main block with lower buildings, a criticism which a little reminds one of Sir Joshua Reynolds' praise of Vanbrugh's methods of design. Blondel concludes his criticism with words which ought to be put up in every school of architecture, "simplicity of form, economy of ornament, reserve in the breaks ought to be held a higher beauty than any detail that invention and genius can suggest." The whole of his criticism on the Luxembourg is well worth reading. It is written from a definite academic standpoint, certain fixed canons of design must be followed, strict propriety must be observed, but, that once accepted, his criticism is shrewd and acute, he detects the real faults of the design, and exposes them with a very intimate sense of the gravity and dignity of monumental architecture.

De Brosse was not only architect of the Luxembourg. He was contractor as well; and in this capacity bought quarries for the stone-work, and provided all the plant and materials. In 1621 he was receiving 2,000 livres a week, but a difference arose in regard to his claims. In 1623 his own experts assessed them at 700,150 livres, whereas the representatives of the Queen-Mother put them at 581,653 livres. In the result De Brosse's claims were settled, and he was superseded in 1624 by Marin de la Vallée, a well-known contractor of Paris. It appears from the contract made with De la Vallée that De Brosse had considerable difficulty with his foundations, and had to sink a number of shafts in order to get a solid footing.¹ The Queen furnished her palace in the most costly manner. A writer in 1640 says that in the cabinet the floor was of marquetry, the chimney-piece and the panelling were all gilt, the windows glazed with fine crystal, and the camees or bars were of silver instead of lead.² The gardens designed by De Brosse were on a great scale.³ The grotto, since reconstructed, was formed from his design on the east side of the garden, and water for the fountains was brought from Rongis in underground pipes, and through an aqueduct of twenty-five arches at Arceuil, 1,300 ft. long, and 80 ft. high at its highest point. Though money was spent right and left, the work was not completed. After Concini was murdered in 1617, Marie de Médicis entered into a series of desperate intrigues to maintain her influence over her son, and to break the power of Richelieu. Her failure was complete

¹ A. Hustin, "Le Palais de Luxembourg," 16-17.

² Malingre, "Antiquités de Paris," 1640, ii, 401. Quoted by De Gisors.

³ They have been completely altered since, first in 1782, again in 1810-11, and in 1840, when the grotto by De Brosse was reconstructed.

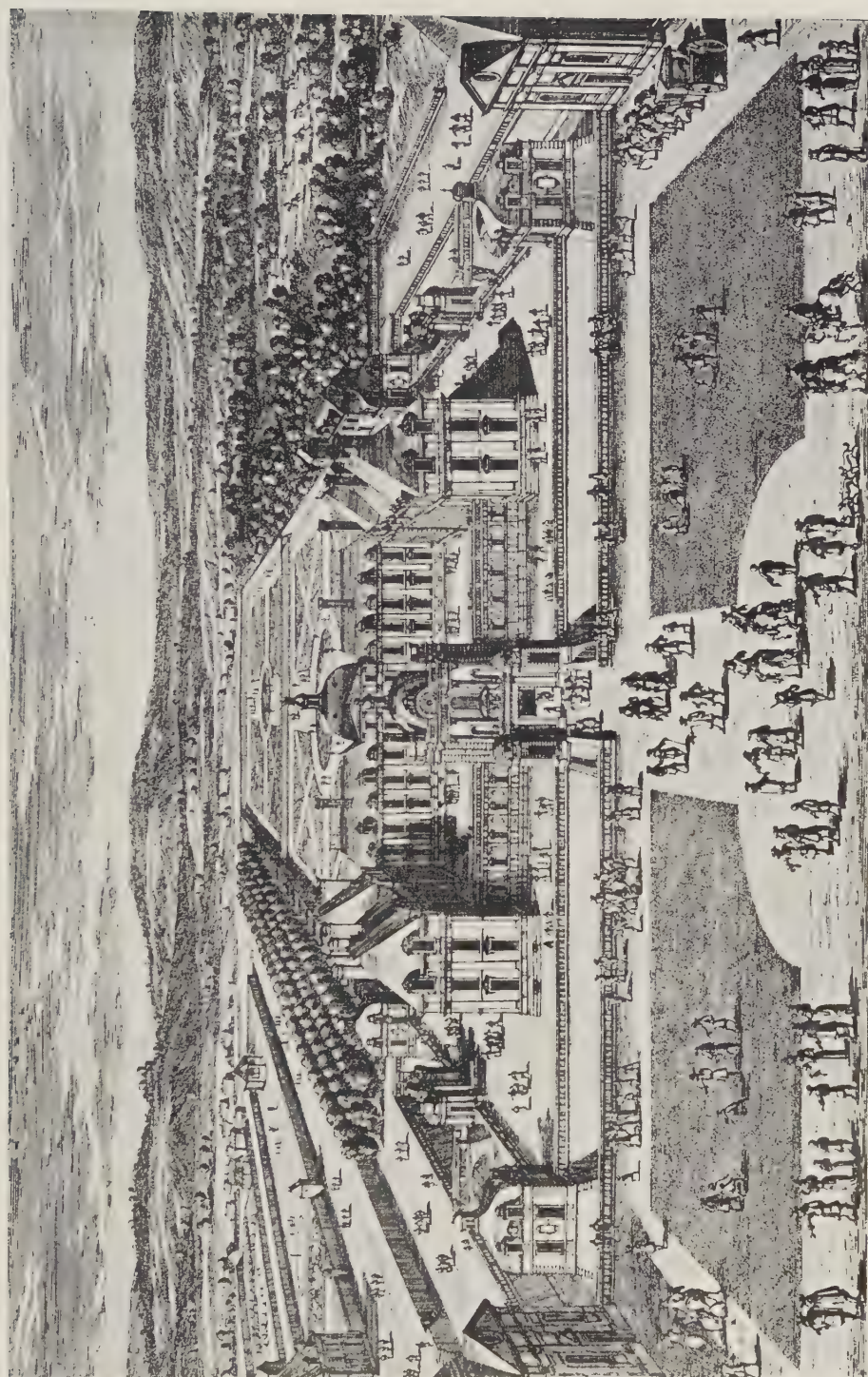
and memorable. After 1631 she was an exile, and she died at Cologne, almost destitute, in 1642.¹ The Luxembourg was neglected; and in 1733-4 considerable repairs were found to be necessary. In 1776 Soufflot prepared a scheme for filling up the space between the two pavilions on the garden side which was not carried out,² and in 1795-8 it was altered by Chalgrin for the Directoire. In 1804 further works were carried out under Chalgrin, when the terrace in the Cour d'Honneur was removed, and the principal staircase and chapel were destroyed to make room for the Salle des Conférences. Finally, a further remodeling by De Gisors was begun in 1836, and finished in 1840, which so completely transformed De Brosse's Palace that no adequate idea of what it was can be formed from the existing building. It was increased by more than one third on the garden side, the whole of this façade with the two angle pavilions dating from 1840. The interior was altered out of all knowledge, and, probably at this date, commonplace modern roofs were substituted for the immense roofs of the pavilions and central building, which had been essential features of the original design.³

De Brosse designed three other famous buildings in Paris, the west front of St. Gervais, the Protestant temple of Charenton, and the Hall of the Palais de Justice. The west front of St. Gervais was built in 1616, Louis XIII laying the first stone. The design, which is too well known to need description, seems to have been considered a masterpiece till the time of Blondel. Its chief merit is its size. The diameter of the Doric order of the lowest storey is 3 ft. 7 in., and the height of the order with its entablature is 35 ft. 9 in. Blondel gives the height from the ground line to the top of the Corinthian entablature as 138 ft. 6 in. Otherwise the design is commonplace enough, and there is force in Blondel's contention that it would have been greatly improved by taking the pedestal course from the Ionic order and placing it under the Doric, for the whole building, like the garden façade of the old Luxembourg, seems sinking into the ground. The central pediment is not wanted, and interferes with what Blondel calls "the gravity of the architecture," and the composition of the top storey with the two lower orders is awkward and unhappy. The fact is that with orders above

¹ For three years, 1638-41, she was maintained in England by Charles I, her son-in-law, who allowed her a hundred livres a day (De Gisors, 54).

² See Hustin, 18-29.

³ It is now the palace of the Senate. See introductory note, Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," Guadet and Pascal, vol. ii. For a series of views of the Luxembourg in its present state, see the views published by Armand Guerinnet.



[Perrault sc.]

MONCEAUX (P. 58)

orders it is difficult to avoid a monotonous and merely mechanical design. A man with a genius for proportion, such as François Mansart, at Blois and Maisons, may justify himself by some excellent rhythm, but this constant breaking-up of the façade by the horizontal lines of the entablature, the repeated breaks which are involved, the obviousness of the motive, and the undue display of the *mécanique* of classical design, all tend to diminish the scale and to fritter away the impression of grandeur. Blondel, somewhat unkindly, suggests that the real reason why the front of St. Gervais was thought so good, was that the front of the Maison Professe des Jésuites¹ by the Père Derand was so indubitably bad.

The Protestant temple at Charenton was a different affair. De Brosse seems to have been determined to carry out the idea of a conventicle with the most rigorous logic. His plan consisted of a parallelogram, 100 ft. by 50 ft. (inside measurements). This he divided up into a nave and aisles in nine bays, with Doric columns supporting two tiers of galleries, and above these square piers on the floor of the second gallery up to the plate of the wagon ceiling of the nave. The aisles ran round the ends as well as the sides, so that there were four columns at the ends and eight at the sides. Plain balustrades formed the front of the galleries, there were no entablatures, and the whole building was covered in by a great barn roof. The Temple was pulled down after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and appears to have had little architectural value. De Brosse made no attempt to get any quality out of his problem. He does not seem to have been capable of an effort of genius such as enabled Inigo Jones to design "the handsomest barn in Christendom," and De Brosse's Temple must have been inferior to such a picturesque conventicle as the Nieuwe Kerke at The Hague. The Grande Salle of the Palais de Justice was rebuilt by De Brosse in 1625, and again in 1872 by Duc and Daumet, apparently in more or less faithful reproduction of De Brosse's design. It is a vast hall in two aisles, about 110 ft. wide by 280 ft. long, exclusive of the gallery at the east end. The arcade down the centre is a clumsy arrangement, and though in a way it is a solution of the problem of covering in a very large space, the design is unimaginative and commonplace. De Brosse was a competent practical architect, but by no means a great artist. In Marot's collection of views² there is a plan and three elevations of the Château of Colommiers en Brie, which was designed by De Brosse. The plan consisted of a rectangular court, 180 ft. by 150 ft. inside,

¹ In the rue St. Antoine, begun in 1627 (Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," ii, 119).

² In the collection known as Le Petit Marot.

with buildings on three sides and on the fourth or entrance side a low screen building with a pavilion at the entrance, and a terrace at the further end of the court, with the principal staircase in the centre of the main block, much on the lines of his design for the Luxembourg. The same treatment of a three-sided court with low screen wall in front and an important pavilion over the central entrance is shown in the views of Liencour and Monceaux by Silvestre. Colommiers appears to have been a study for the larger building. The court of the Luxembourg measured 210 ft. by 180 ft. as against the 180 ft. by 150 ft. of Colommiers, and the general conception of the two plans, with the terrace opposite the main entrance, the screen wall and Belvedere on the entrance side, and the arrangement of the buildings on three sides with the main corps de logis on the side opposite the entrance, was pretty nearly the same. The entrance fronts were nearly identical, but in the elevation to the court and the garden front, De Brosse allowed himself greater licence at Colommiers than he did afterwards at the Luxembourg. Colommiers was built about 1613 for Catherine de Gonzaga, widow of the first Duc de Longueville. It was pulled down in 1737 by the Duc de Chevreuse of the time, in order to save the cost of its maintenance.

The last work that De Brosse undertook was the Parliament House, now the Palais de Justice, at Rennes, begun in 1624, and completed by an architect of Rennes named Cormeau thirty years later.¹ This building is one of the most remarkable in the west of France. The plan consists of a square courtyard, with advanced wings in the front, and has not been materially altered from De Brosse's design. The front façade has a rusticated ground storey of granite; above this is a pedestal course supporting Doric pilasters with an entablature and balustrade, behind which rises a steep slate roof with elaborate lead cresting, and lead figures at the angles of the roofs of the wings. The design is simpler, better proportioned, and more mature than those of the Luxembourg and Colommiers. A broad flight of steps leads up from the ground floor to the *salle des pas perdus*, a magnificent hall about 125 ft. long and 40 ft. wide, which occupies the whole of the front except the two wings. This hall is covered by a wagon roof in wood, divided into panels by bold mouldings of wood with wreaths, swags, coats of arms, and other devices on the panels, all of which were gilt on a blue ground. All De Brosse's work here, this hall and the galleries running round the court are on a great scale, a scale well maintained in the

¹ It was further altered by Gabriel the elder in 1726.



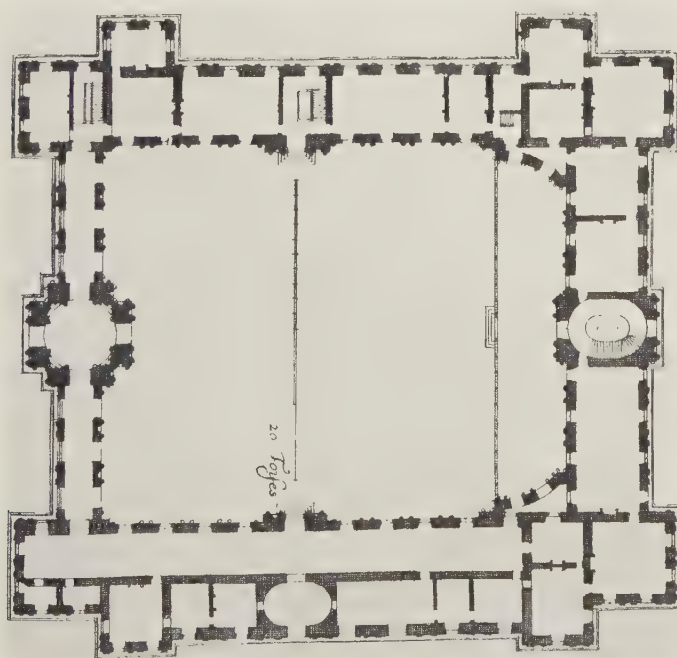
DESIGN FOR THE ENTRANCE FAÇADE

[Marot



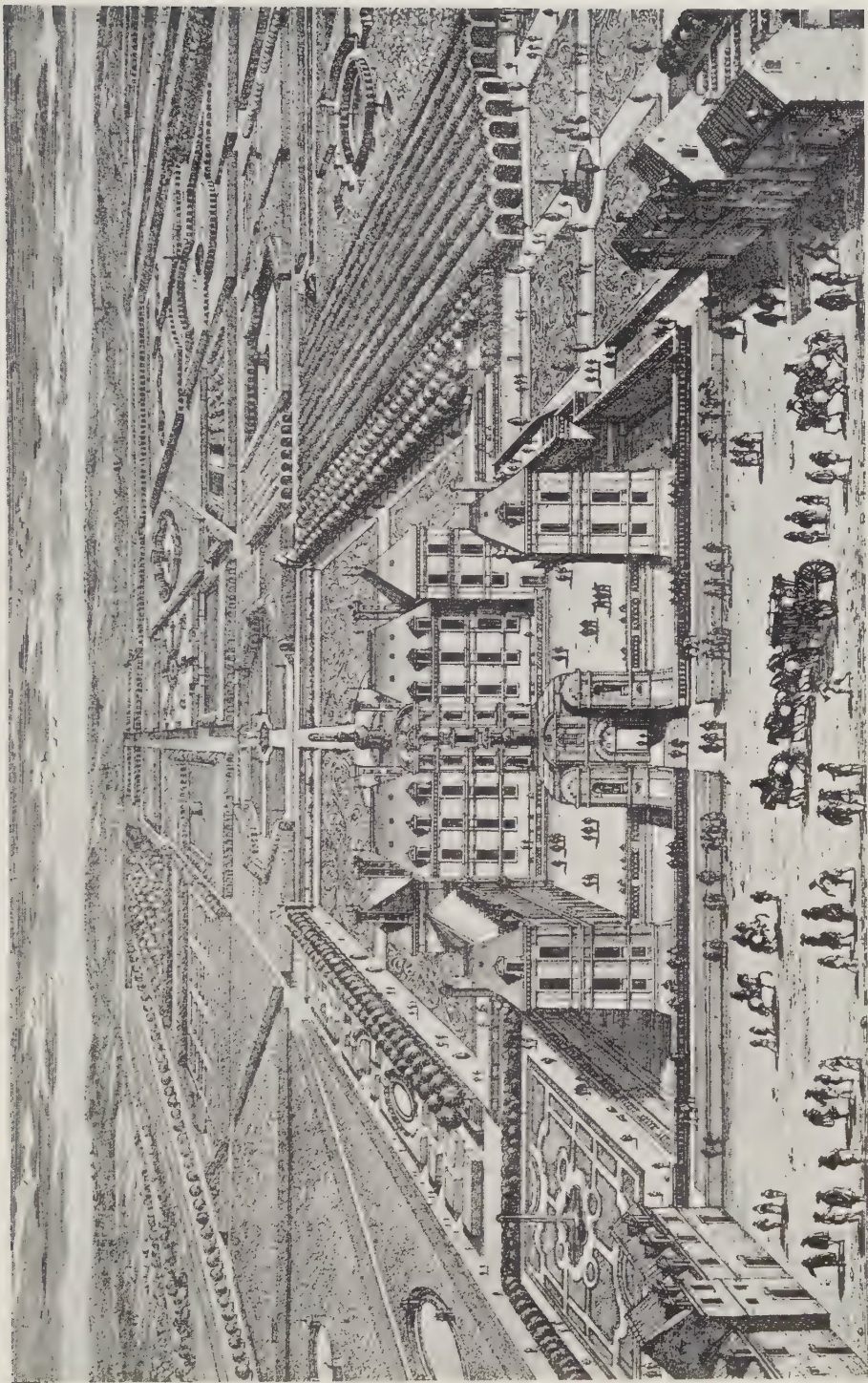
SECTIONS AND ELEVATION TO COURT

[Marot



GROUND PLAN

[Marot



[Perelle sc.]

LIENCOUR: GENERAL VIEW (p. 58)

splendid coffered wood ceilings of several of the principal rooms, which appear to have been executed by Cormeau after the death of De Brosse, for the building was not completed till 1666. De Brosse died at Paris in 1626. So far as it is now possible to judge from his work, he was a considerable man, and possessed a certain vigour of design and feeling for scale. Technically, he was well versed in his trade. There is nothing trifling or affected in his architecture. But he was ponderous, and heavy of touch, and rather dull. It is of no use looking to De Brosse for any of the finer qualities of art. His design is straightforward and obvious, but unconscious of subtleties of rhythm and proportion. He ranks with Lemercier, not with François Mansart.

De Brosse left a nephew, Paul, who appears in the list of the paid architects of the King between 1616 and 1628, and who undertook certain works in conjunction with his cousin, Jean Androuet du Cerceau; and in 1636 is said to have made a design with Lemercier¹ for the completion of the north-west tower of the cathedral of Troyes. This was completed in 1638. It is a great lump of a tower with few redeeming qualities, and the designers would have done better to follow the design of the existing west front by the old master-mason of Sens. The younger De Brosse was joint owner with Jean du Cerceau of certain stone quarries at Mendon, of which Du Cerceau ultimately became sole owner. He appears to have been less successful than his cousin, Jean du Cerceau, who was Architect-in-Ordinary to the King in 1635, and who seems to have been employed on several of the big town houses that were being built about that time in Paris. At some date early in the seventeenth century (after 1612), he designed the Hôtel de Sully (Berty says 1624-30) and the Hôtel de Mayenne, both in the rue St. Antoine, picturesque buildings, but vulgar in design and crude in detail. The Hôtel de Sully, in spite of the advertisements which conceal most of the front, is very little injured on the sides to the courtyard.² The façades are elaborate and greatly

¹ Bauchal, "Nouveau Dict."

² The Hôtel de Sully is No. 62, rue St. Antoine. It appears from De Breul ("Supplement des Antiquités de Paris," 69), that this hotel was built for De Neubourg, Master-in-Ordinary in the Chambre des Comptes, and was brought by Sully on the death of De Neubourg. De Breul describes it as "un très beau logis, accompagné d'un grand carré de logemens, d'une belle cour, et spacieux jardin." There is a good ceiling of the time on the soffit of the main stairs, but the details are coarse. The court measures about 60 ft. by 90 ft. The building above the ground-floor storey between the two pavilions in the front is, of course, modern. The Hôtel de Mayenne was built in 1613 for the Duc de Mayenne, the fat and famous adversary of Henri IV. The house was built of brick

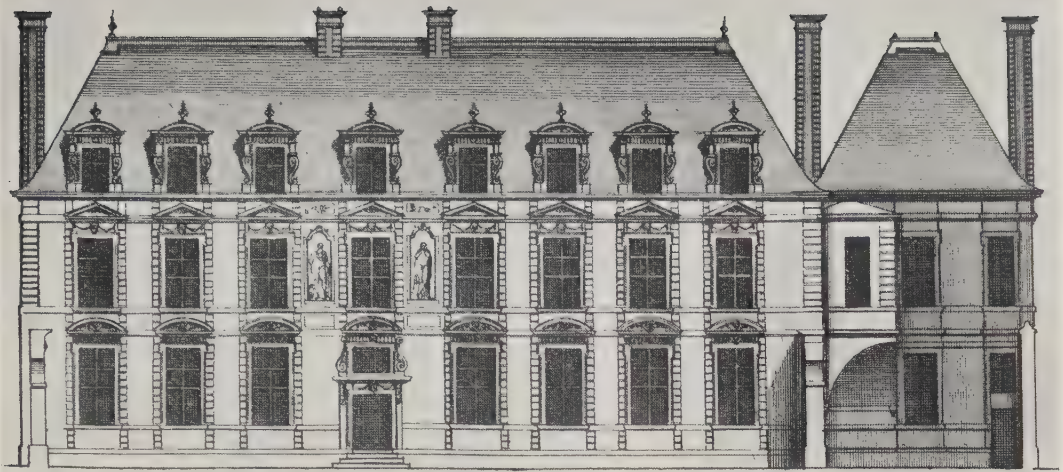
overdone with pediments, heavy-looking figures in niches, and architectural ornament, the latter coarse in relief and much cut in like Biard's carving at St. Etienne. These buildings do not give one a very high opinion of Du Cerceau's ability as an architect, but they were certainly early works. Architecture was advancing rapidly in the reign of Louis XIII. The confusion of thought characteristic of the early part of the seventeenth century was clearing, a higher standard of taste was being formed, and architects were beginning to realize that they must exercise restraint and selection if their designs were to escape the blatant vulgarity of the Hôtel de Sully. In 1635 Louis XIII bought the Isle Notre Dame (now Isle St. Louis) and some of the best houses in Paris were built here. The Hôtel de Bretonvillers, designed by Du Cerceau, was probably the first, and it was followed by the Hôtels Lambert et d'Hesselin.¹ The Hôtel de Bretonvillers stood at the east end of the island, and appears from old engravings to have been a very large house, consisting of a main building in two storeys, with attics in a lofty roof. The entrance was on the west side, this side of the court being as usual kept down to one storey. A long building, apparently a gallery, continued eastward along the north side, opening on to the garden which occupied an irregular plot south-east of the house, and facing to the Seine on the south side. The east façade to the garden measured 140 ft., and the inner court 84 ft. by 78 ft.² The side elevations of this court with their shells and pediments recall the familiar Du Cerceau manner, but the rest of the elevations are more mature, and may have been the work of a later hand. The building was destroyed in 1873. The only other important house known to have been designed by this Jean Du Cerceau was the Hôtel Bellegarde, more generally known as the Hôtel Segulier, and remarkable for the magnificence of its decorations.³ The house was built of brick with bands of stone, as

and stone. De Breul, *loc. cit.*, says: "Le corps de logis de derrière est fort grand, embelly de belles et grandes salles, chambres, anti-chambres, cabinets, et d'un bel escalier." It is now called "Les Francs Bourgeois."

¹ Note on a print by Marot. The Hôtel d'Hesselin is No. 24, Quai de Béthune, and has a fine seventeenth-century door, and considerable remains of the original design in the courtyard at the back. These are shown in Marot's views. The Hôtel Lambert is the well-known building at the end of the Isle St. Louis.

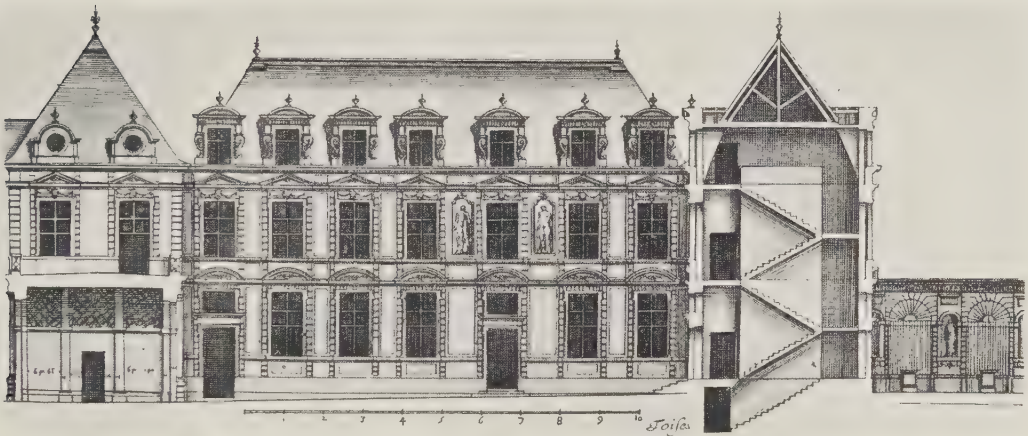
² Dimensions on the plan in "Le Petit Marot."

³ The Hôtel Bellegarde, said by Sauval to have been sold in 1612 by Madame de Montpensier, afterwards Duchesse de Guise, to Roger de Sanlari, Duc de Bellegarde, "le plus galant et le plus achevé courtisan de son siècle." He decided to rebuild the house, and employed Du Cerceau to design him a new palace on the débris of the Hôtels "de Conde, de Soissons, et de Montpensier," which he adorned with "gildings, emblems,



[Marot

GARDEN FRONT



[Marot

ELEVATION AND SECTION



[Marot sc.

GROUND PLAN
THE HÔTEL DE SULLY (P. 59)



THE ÎLE NOTRE DAME: SHOWING THE HÔTEL BRETONVILLERS AND OTHERS (P. 60)

[Perelle sc.]

in the houses of the Place Dauphine and the Place Royale and contained a remarkable staircase invented and carried out by Toussaint Vergier. The stairs were contained in a square apartment, with landings and an opening in the centre, wide easy steps of stone and a stone balustrade, all carried on vaults and trompes of masonry without further support. Du Cerceau is known to have been employed on this house in 1645, and this is the last we hear of him till his death in 1650 at the age of sixty.

It is hardly fair to judge a man by a single work, and it is perhaps unfortunate for Jean du Cerceau that the Hôtel de Sully is the only considerable building of his from which it is now possible to arrive at some appreciation of his powers. If all the design of the Hôtel de Bretonvillers, as shown by Marot, was his, he certainly improved as he went on, but on the evidence of the Hôtel de Sully it is impossible to rank him high as an architect. That building shows a certain power of composition, but little or no technical attainment, and no sensitive feeling for the great qualities of architecture. This particular Du Cerceau seems to have been typical of the second-rate man of the time, men who did a great quantity of work, most of it bad, and scarcely worth consideration, except that their names have survived in seventeenth-century engravings.

It is the more to be regretted that we know nothing of the men who designed buildings of much greater merit elsewhere in France, and who must have been contemporaries of De Brosse and of this younger Du Cerceau. At Toulouse, for instance, there are two remarkable gateways, dating from the reign of Henri IV, or thereabouts, the authorship of which is quite unknown. One is at the back of the Capitole, or Town Hall, in the Cour Henri IV, which was built in 1601-3. The other is the entrance to the Lycée, close to the Church of

trophies of arms, the swords of the Grand Ecuyer, and certain rooms designed less for use than for pomp and magnificence." The hotel afterwards passed into the hands of the Chancellor (Seguier), and was for some years the meeting place of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Sauval's account is circumstantial. He says that De Bellegarde employed Du Cerceau "comme alors il n'y avoit pour d'architecte qui eut plus de nom que Du Cerceau, car c'étoit lui qui avoit conduit les châteaux de Monceaux et de Verneuil, et non seulement qui passoit pour avoir des plus grands pensées et des plus nobles fougues, mais de plus étoit l'architecte du Roi" (Sauval, ii, 195-196). As Jean du Cerceau did not die till 1650, he must either have lived a very long life, or displayed precocious ability, to have gained this reputation by 1612-13. One is never quite certain whether Sauval is not mixing up all the Du Cerceau family together. According to De Geymüller, Jean du Cerceau was a minor in 1602, and it is probable that De Bellegarde did not begin building so early as Sauval implies.

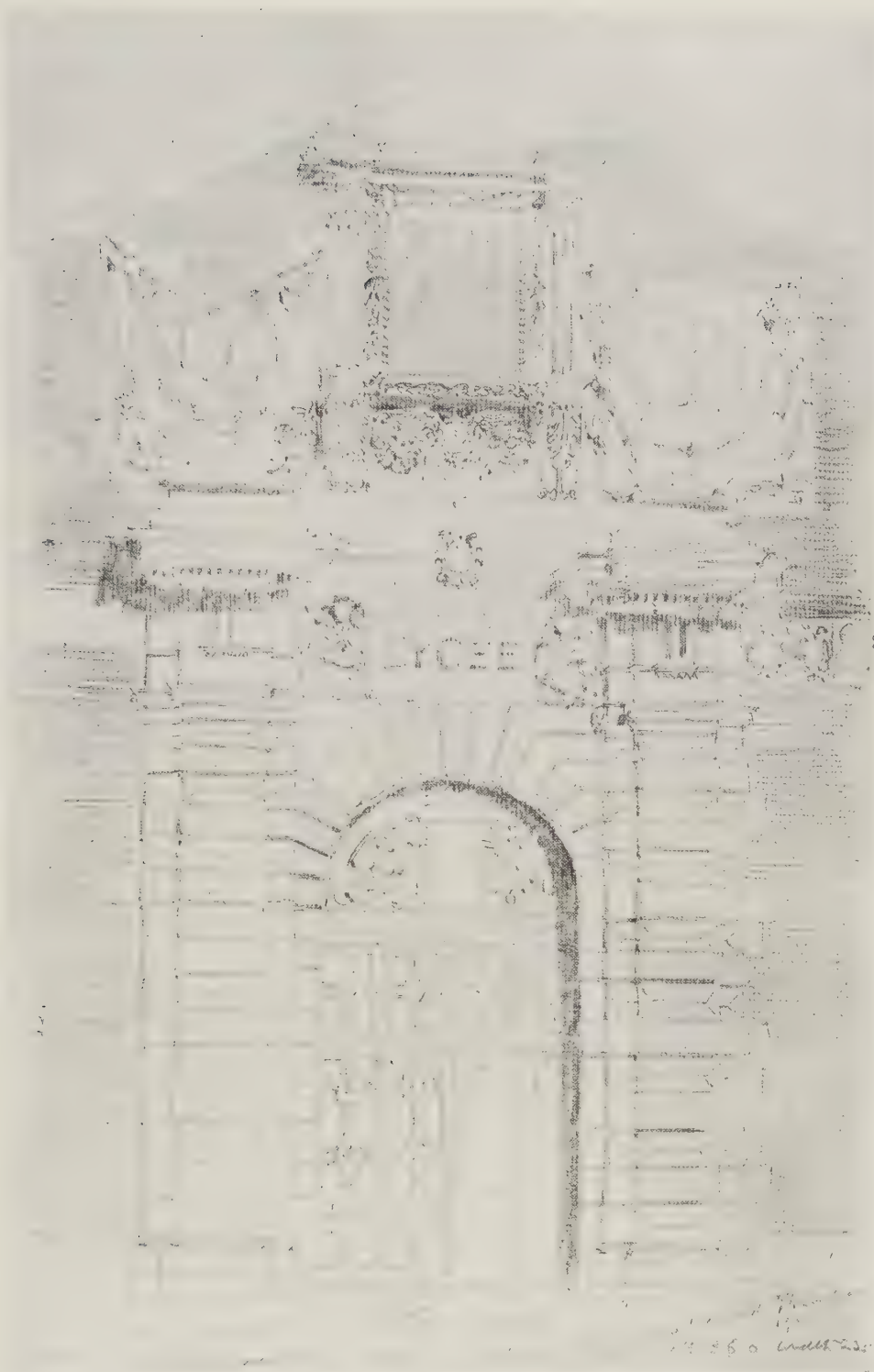
the Jacobins. These doorways are distinguished by their great size, and their breadth of treatment. There is nothing like them of the same date in Paris or anywhere else in France that I know of, and they undoubtedly are the work of some individual designer of ability whose name is now lost. The doorway to the Lycée is almost 36 ft. high to the top of the upper cornice, and 22 ft. wide. The sculpture is badly defaced, though enough is left to make out the design, and both here, and in the great gateway at the back of the Capitole, the treatment is of striking originality. It goes beyond the stale repetition of the orders usual in contemporary work, and one can only regret that we know nothing of the man who designed these stately gateways. Possibly the same man designed the courtyard of the Hôtel d'Assezat at Toulouse, with its fine gallery overlooking the court. This building is probably of two dates, as over the door with twisted columns is the date 1555, but the details are quite fifty years later, and as the brick and stone are bonded together in the most haphazard manner, I incline to think that these details were added later, *i.e.* about 1600, as certainly happened at the Hôtel du Vieux Raisin or Bernuizier. This building dates from the early part of the sixteenth century, but at the end of that century some frantic sculptor was let loose in the court, who framed windows with terms and caryatides, and absolutely incrustated the old brick walls with his ornament, regardless of scale, and regardless of the delicate ornament (probably Italian) of the earlier work. The sixteenth-century architecture of Toulouse is altogether most perplexing. It is improbable that the artist of the two great gateways mentioned above could also have designed this monstrous ornament. Then again, there are the Hôtel de Felsins, and the Maison de Pierre, close to the Church of the Dalbade. The Hôtel de Felsins is supposed to have been built about 1556, but is probably later; the Maison de Pierre, now much rebuilt and modernized, dates from 1612. They are badly designed, yet the very violence of their manner suggests a local artist, the hot blood of the meridional. There is, indeed, some evidence to show that the inspiration did actually come from the south, rather than from the north or from Italy. Jean de Bernuy, the builder of the Hôtel Bernuy in 1557, was a merchant at Burgos before he came to Toulouse.¹ There can be little doubt also that the influence of the Dijon school extended down the valley of the Rhone, and reached to Toulouse and other places in the south-east of France. Indeed, throughout the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, the two currents of

¹ See Alain Justice in "L'Art Français Primitif," E. Leroux, ed. 1906, 124-125.



[R. B. del.]

GATEWAY: COUR HENRI IV, CAPITOLE, TOULOUSE (P. 61)



[R. B. del.]

GATEWAY OF THE LYCÉE: TOULOUSE (P. 61)

artistic thought, that of Paris and the north-west on the one hand, and that of Dijon and the south-east on the other, kept quite apart and have to be studied independently. The exuberance of feeling, the habit of forcing the note beyond its true architectural pitch, had long been characteristic of Dijon, and this tendency seems to have gathered up all its strength for a final effort at the end of the sixteenth century. Dijon is full of examples, the eccentricities of Hugues Sambin, and houses such as La Maison des Ambassadeurs, and No. 38, Rue des Forges,¹ where there is practically no plain wall at all, the sculptor having covered every inch of it with his fancies. There is another example at the corner of the Rue Chaudronnerie. It would almost seem as if the tragedies of the last thirty years of the sixteenth century must have strained everybody's nerves to breaking point, for there is a curiously tense feeling about the work of the early years of the seventeenth century, as if the grace and humanity of life had worn down to the bone, so that the architecture that expressed it had become restless and hysterical. The entrance to the Hôtel de Vogüë at Dijon, and more particularly the side to the courtyard, is a well-known example. The designer of this house is unknown, and even its exact date. The only date on the building is 1614 on the chimney-piece of the big hall, but the entrance front is later than this date, and the angle doorway appears to be rather earlier. Sauvageot, who was very enthusiastic about it, accepted the Comte de Vogüë's theory that it was designed by the owner, Estienne Bouhier himself, partly on the ground that no professional architect would have launched out into this "inépuisable et riche variété."² That, however, was exactly what the Dijon architects did do, and had been doing for the last forty years, and the Hôtel de Vogüë may be taken as a typical instance of that school of design at its best. The Château de Sully, near Autun, very well illustrated in Sauvageot, vol. i, is another example. It was begun by the famous Gaspard de Saulx, Marquis de Tavannes, and finished 1596-1609 and 1650. Bussy Rabutin says that when he went there, some fifty years later, they entered the court with seven coaches and six horses apiece.

Scarcely less striking is the Porte de la Citadelle, at Nancy (1598), with its trophies of arms, by Florent Drouin, the astonishing rustications, formed of a series of rosettes, and the armed men corbelled out from the pilasters of the main gate. The Porte de la Citadelle is one of the most interesting examples remaining of the military architecture of

¹ Dated 1561.

² Sauvageot, "Palais, Châteaux," etc., i, 25.

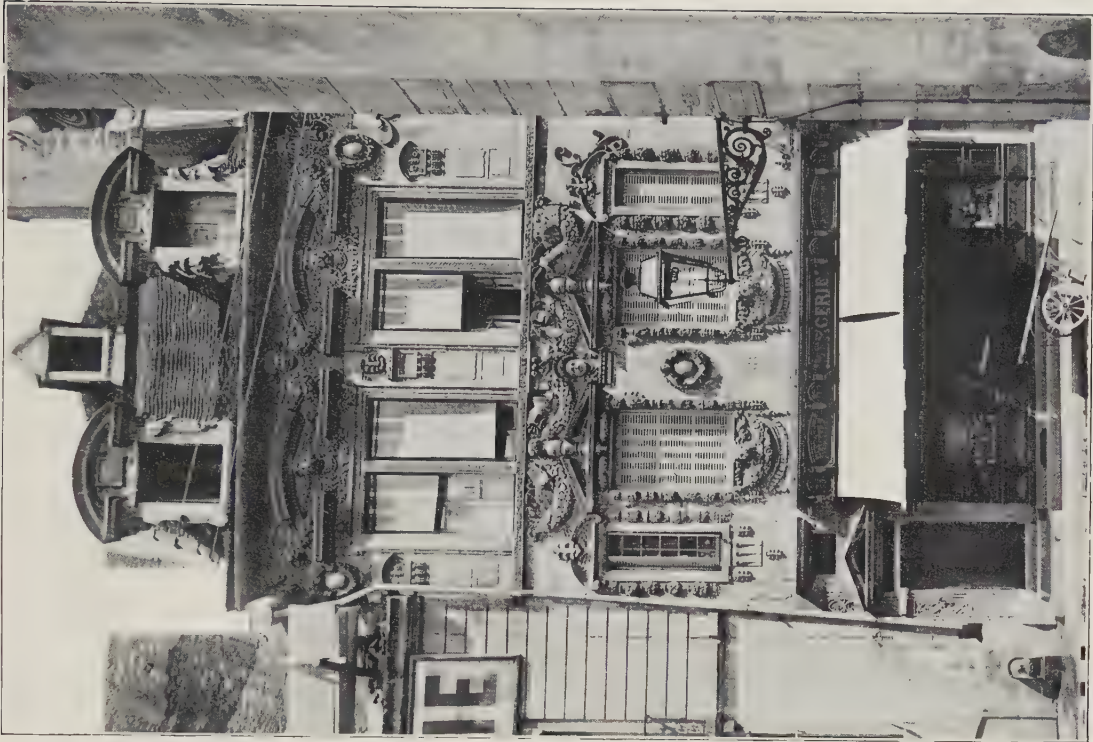
the end of the sixteenth century. On the outside is the elaborate composition shown in the illustration. Through this passed a narrow way, opening out into a great vaulted archway, 63 ft. long by 42 ft. wide, spanned by a wagon vault in brick, starting from a low plinth, with flush stone transverse bands. The height, from the pavement to the soffit, is only about 18 ft., and the space appears, from two fire-places at the sides, now blocked up, to have been used as a guard room.¹ It is an admirable piece of building, but the architecture of the façades is simply crude and melodramatic. The Town Hall of La Rochelle built in 1606 illustrates the same ambition to arrest attention, the irresistible instinct for attitudinizing. This building has been restored out of all semblance of antiquity,² but the design is still there, and it is characteristic in the tour de force of its arcade on the ground floor, the profusion of its ornament, and the tortured design of the lucarnes, reminiscent of what De l'Orme and Bullant had done in the Tuileries.

Though exceptions may be found, and in spite of the splendid efforts of Henri IV to promote the art, architecture generally was at a rather low ebb in the reign of Henri IV. It had not yet had time to get into its stride, and it was still confused by the technical legacies of the sixteenth century. At its best it produced that simple and straightforward manner of domestic architecture in brick and stone, such as I have noted at Fontainebleau, which drew its charm from its materials, and from a certain austerity and reticence of design. M. Lemonnier³ says of this period: "on y a évidemment cherché l'ordonnance, la ligne, on n'est arrivé souvent qu'à la lourdeur et à la sécheresse. Mais dans leur masse puissante, dans leur solidité un peu rude, ils ne manquent ni de caractère, ni même de grandeur." His further criticism, on the merit of this period in dispensing with the orders is not so just, because in fact the orders were freely used, and quite as irrationally as ever they had been by the architects of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis. At its worst, and its worst is more plentiful than its best, the architecture of this period ran out into all sorts of ambitious extravagance, piling detail upon detail, and over accentuating the architectural motives that it used. Except that it was more skilful, there is little to choose between this architecture and our own Jacobean. Both manners are a

¹ The absurd figure of Henri IV above the entrance is modern. The two fine figures in the niches are not original, and are said by M. Hallays ("Nancy," 29) to have been brought here from the ducal garden.

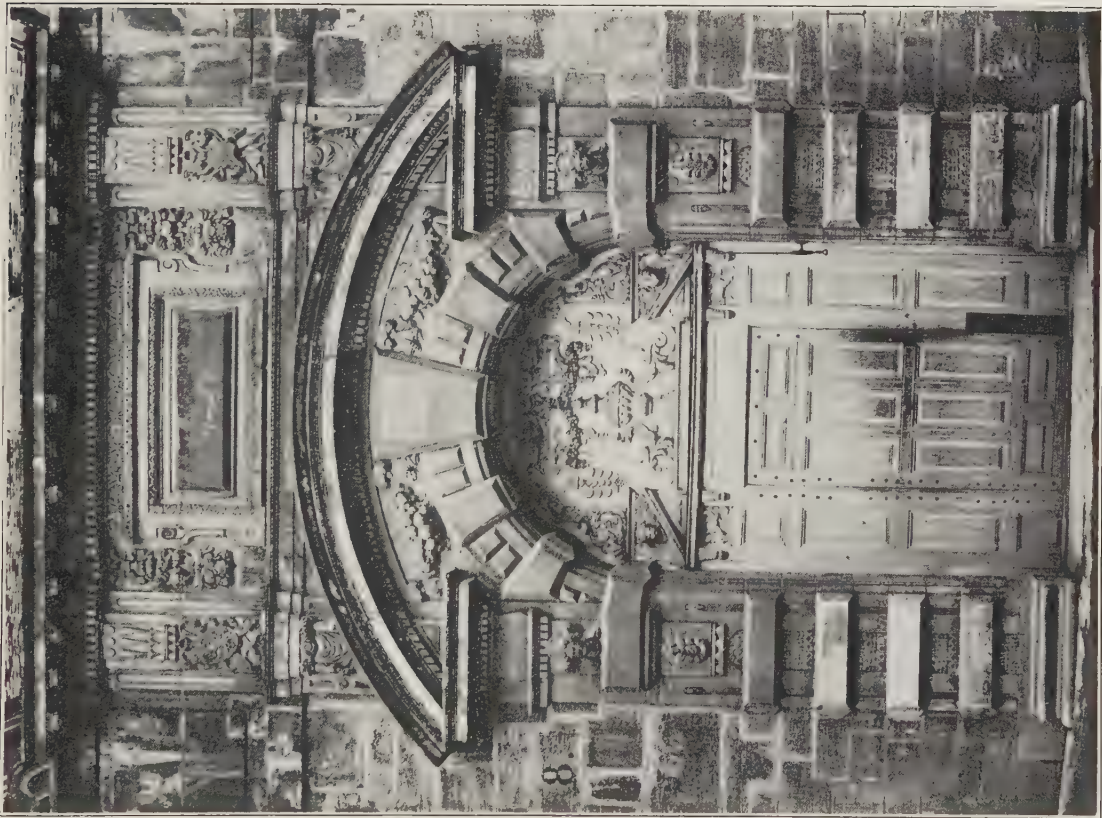
² By Lisch in 1879.

³ "L'Art Français au temps de Richelieu et Mazarin," 52, 53.



HOUSE IN RUE DES FORGES: DIJON (P. 63)

[Photo.]



DOORWAY: HÔTEL DE VOGUÉ, DIJON (P. 63)

[Mon. Hist.]

[Photo.]



NANCY: PORTE DE LA CITADELLE (P. 63)

travesty of the classic that they set out to realize. They had lost the charm, the picturesqueness, the reasonableness of earlier work, of the Manoir d'Ango in France, of Compton Winyates in England, and they were separated by a deep gulf from that genuine interpretation of the neo-classic spirit which Inigo Jones was to introduce into England, and François Mansart into France. The period was still one of transition, and must be criticized from that point of view. But throughout this period both architects and workmen were gaining technical ability, and out of all this welter of experiment and failure, a finer taste and more perfect insight into the function of architecture were slowly emerging. The younger generation were to profit by the failures of their elders.

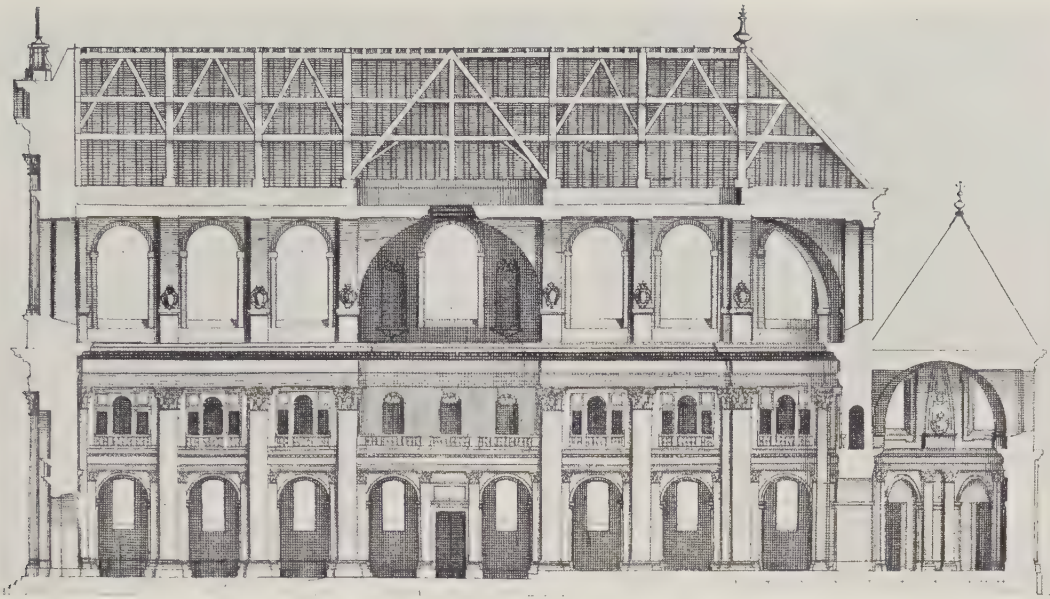
CHAPTER XV

JACQUES LEMERCIER

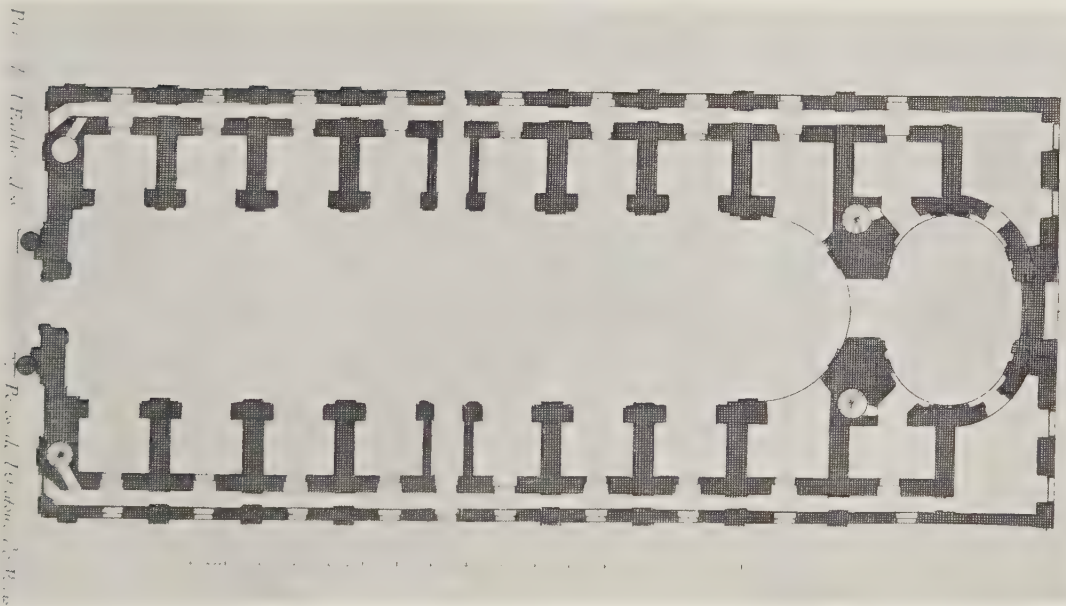
QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY introduces his account of Lemercier with a somewhat cynical division of history into periods distinguished by men of genius, and the periods succeeding in which the best that can be done is to catalogue their works. The seventeenth century in France was so busy with production that nobody seems to have given much thought to the men who made it the great age of modern architecture not only in France but in Europe; and any one who has attempted to ascertain anything of the history of those considerable artists, knows how scanty is the material for any account of their lives. France had no Vasari. In Perrault's collection¹ of the illustrious men of France of the seventeenth century, François Mansart and Claude Perrault are the only architects mentioned, yet in that century had lived De Brosse, Lemercier, Le Muet, Le Pautre, Le Nôtre, Jules Hardouin Mansard, and many other architects, almost any of whom would have won a first-rate reputation had he lived two hundred years later. No one thought it worth his while to write the lives of these men, and we have to unearth what scanty facts we can from engravings and memoirs and the scattered references in Blondel's monumental work.

Jacques Lemercier was born at Pontoise in 1583. In that year Armand Duplessis, afterwards Cardinal Richelieu, was born in Paris, the younger son of a not very prosperous country gentleman, destined within thirty years to be the real ruler of France, and incidentally the patron to whom Lemercier was to owe his position as the first architect of his time at the French court. Lemercier came of a family of builders settled for many generations at Pontoise. He was related to Pierre Lemercier, the builder of St. Eustache in Paris, and of St. Maclou at Pontoise. Nicholas, son or grandson of Pierre, carried on his work in

¹ "Les hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce Siècle," par M. Perrault, de l'Académie Française. Paris, 1698.



CHURCH OF THE ORATORY, PARIS: SECTION (P. 68)
(LEMERCIER, ARCHITECT)



CHURCH OF THE ORATORY, PARIS: GROUND PLAN (P. 68)
(LEMERCIER, ARCHITECT)

both churches, and was working at St. Eustache in 1578-80.¹ Jacques Lemercier, the architect, was probably the son of Nicholas, and started at any rate with the tradition of the mason-builder; but, so far as his father and grandfather were concerned, with everything to learn as to the real meaning of neo-classic architecture. He is supposed to have been in Rome in 1607,² and he must have been employed soon after his return to France, or he could not have been in receipt of a salary of 1,200 livres ten years later.³ Indeed, Bauchal says that he was employed at once in the Louvre at a salary of 700 livres, and that in 1613 he rebuilt the Hôtel de la Rochefoucauld in Paris, and was employed by Louis XIII at Versailles in 1617 to design the buildings round the Cour d'Honneur, or Cour de Marbre. There does not, however, appear to be any authority for this beyond a vague legend. Louis XIII did not begin his hunting-box at Versailles till 1624-30, and the only name so far discovered in connection with this very interesting example of early seventeenth-century architecture, is that of a certain Le Roy, who appears in the accounts of the Château, 1631-6, but whether as architect or contractor is not known.⁴ The details in brick and stone are refined and rather advanced for the date, and if the façade were really designed by Le Roy his name must be added to the long and disappointing list of unknown architects. The year 1618 must be taken as the first authenticated mention of Lemercier, though it is probable that before that date he was employed on one or more of the hotels or town houses that were being built in the early part of the century. Du Breul mentions some sixty hotels, of which twenty-four are expressly described as having been built between 1612 and 1639,⁵ mostly of brick and stone, and on a considerable scale. It is well known that, from 1600 onwards, building was going on in every direction in Paris, and there was ample opportunity for him to win his spurs between 1607 and 1618. In 1620 he was sent with the engineer Solomon de Caux, to report on a bridge at Rouen, and about this date he is supposed to have been called in to supersede

¹ The dates on three pillars of the nave and on the corresponding chapels on the south side.

² Quatremère de Quincy, on the evidence of an engraving of a design by Michelangelo, made by Lemercier at Rome in 1607. Sauval says he gave the plans for the church of St. Louis des Français at Rome, but there is no other evidence of this.

³ See vol. ii, p. 49.

⁴ M. E. Cazes, "Le Château de Versailles," 1910, who rejects M. de Nolhac's attribution of it to Salomon de Brosse.

⁵ Du Breul, "Supplement," 49, 63, 69.

Clément Metezeau in the design for the Church of the Oratory. In 1616 the Cardinal de Berulle bought for the Oratorians the Hôtel de Bouchage from the Duchesse de Guise, daughter of Henri du Bouchage,¹ Duc de Joyeuse, the favourite of Henri III, who died a Capucin monk. Metezeau, who was employed by the Cardinal to design the church, proved himself incompetent, and Lemer cier was called in to correct his mistakes and carry on the work.² Apparently Lemer cier made a fresh design for the whole building, with the exception of the oval chapel at the east end, which was added by François Mansart, and the west front, which was built from the designs of Caqué in 1747, when the high altar with the baldacchino was added, and other alterations made in the church. Du Breul, writing before 1639, describes the church as "une belle eglise, toute de pierre de taille, embellie de tribune et de galeries, au-dessous est un dôme à la Romaine, sous lequel est leur chœur et grand autel."³ The Oratory is an important building in the history of French architecture, not only on account of its merits, but because it was one of the first churches to be built in Paris in the new manner introduced by the Jesuits. It is almost contemporaneous with the Church of the Novitiate by Martellange, and though the latter is credited with having been the first to design in this manner, Lemer cier, who was in close touch with the Jesuits, and frequently consulted by them, has almost as much claim to be considered its founder.

Blondel had a very high opinion of the Oratory. "Its profiles," he says, "were designed by a master hand, the conception of the building well considered, the construction solid, and the ornament distributed with taste and discretion. In a word, it should be taken as a model, and as one that for all time will do honour to French architecture." From so severe a critic this is high praise, and the plan of the church and its general scale deserve it. Possibly the simplicity of the reformed church, and the absence of the somewhat garish decorations customary in other churches of the date, heighten the impression of austere dignity given by the interior, for it is one of the most satisfactory churches of the time in Paris. The side galleries in each bay are the rather bizarre invention of the Jesuits, the nave is too short

¹ Du Breul.

² Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," iii, 53.

³ Du Breul, "Supplement," 65. The "tribune" was a gallery on columns over the west entrance vestibule, and was intended to be used on great occasions for the orchestra. The Oratory (Rue St. Honoré) is now a Protestant church, the high altar and *baldacchino* have disappeared, and the interior has been altered.

and the transepts too shallow, but the scale is well maintained throughout. The plan consists of a nave 128 ft. long by 32 ft. 6 in. wide. Starting from the west end, there are two oblong bays; then comes the crossing, the square of the nave, then two more bays, with a semi-circular apse, under which stood the high altar with its baldacchino. Openings in the apse led to chapels on the north and south, and on the east side to the oval chapel (added by Mansart), round which were ranged the stalls of the priests (this is now used as a meeting-room and ceiled in). Along the sides of the nave and between the buttresses are chapels,¹ and outside these, on the north and south sides and running the full length of the church, long narrow corridors were provided, giving the priests access to their confessionals without having to enter the church, altogether a very convenient and well-considered plan for the purpose for which it was designed. The side elevations by Lemer cier are finely designed. The passage along the side of the church, with its plain vertical outer wall, acts as a lofty pedestal, above which rise the buttresses with their bold and effective consoles, and is of high architectural value in bringing together the whole composition. In all his career, Lemer cier never did anything better than the church in the Rue St. Honoré. Blondel, whose remarks on this church are very suggestive, criticizes the planning of the west front, which breaks away from the Rue St. Honoré in order to come square with the church. This obliquity, "so repugnant to the spectator and so unworthy of the street of a great capital," might, he says, have been concealed by some circular treatment ("quelque portion de cercle amenée avec art") which would have reconciled the interior with the exterior. It is no answer, he continues, to say that the architect followed his instructions. Where the public interest is concerned, that is a feeble reason, and if those who dealt with architecture were better citizens and thought less of their own interest, their employers would be compelled to give way to their representations. "Un architecte est fait pour éclaircir ceux qui le consultent, et après avoir exposé ce qu'il doit en homme d'honneur et en homme instruit, si l'on ne se rend pas à ses avis il faut qu'il renonce à l'entreprise." Blondel, who speaks bitterly of the incompetence and favouritism of his own time,² was a bold man in giving this counsel of perfection, but his words weighed with his fellow countrymen; and had any similar views prevailed in

¹ See Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," iii, 54. Since the conversion of the building into a Protestant church these arrangements do not appear in the interior.

² "Je ne puis passer sous silence les inepties dont je suis témoin."

this country in the last century, we should have been spared the failures of most of our modern public buildings.

The west front of St. Honoré, which was designed by Caqué in 1747, is a good example of the architecture of the time, in spite of the fault already noted by Blondel of some blundering with the pilasters in the receding angles of the front, and the unsatisfactory jump from the Doric lower storey to the Corinthian order of the upper. The worst thing about it is the sculpture, good of its kind, but too full of movement, too excitable for the solidity of the architectural design, for sculpture in the eighteenth century had broken loose from architecture, and suffered from the want of a controlling hand. Blondel remarks "*Les plus habiles sculpteurs demandent à être conduits par celui qui doit avoir l'esprit du tout, je veux dire par l'architecte*" (iii, 57).

The Oratory was the first of a series of remarkable churches not only in Paris, but in the provinces. Lemer cier himself designed the church at Richelieu, the Sorbonne, and St. Roch. There is an excellent example of the Jesuit manner at Vannes, possibly by Lemer cier, though this is not known, and there is no doubt that he was looked upon as the leading church architect of his time.¹ He was the favourite architect of Richelieu, and had the ear of the Jesuits, and he found his opportunity in that Catholic Renaissance, which was one of the most remarkable facts in the history of France in the first half of the seventeenth century. François I had not troubled about churches, neither had his successors, nor in fact had they the opportunity to do so, even had they wished; but with the return of the Jesuits a new era of religious revival began. The age was called "the age of Saints." "*Catholicisme ranimé et attisé redevenait un foyer de vie morale et religieuse, où non seulement dans les cloîtres mais jusque dans le monde il y avait des âmes qui se consumaient d'amour divin, et se fessaient un idéal des vertus surhumaines.*" The usual legends got about. The religious ecstasies of the Père Condren, second general of the Oratory, were so violent that they were supposed to have permanently displaced the ribs round his heart,² but there can be no doubt of the sincerity of this enthusiasm. Missionaries died for it among the Indians in Canada, men and women of all classes gave up their lives to works of charity, St. Vincent de Paul, a poor priest from the diocese of Dax, laboured among the galley slaves of Mar-

¹ Blondel, "*Arch. Franç.*," ii, 119, says: "Lemer cier, un des architectes de son temps qui a le plus érigé d'édifices sacrés."

² Mariéjol, "*Hist. de France*," ed. Lavis se, vi, 369.

Portail de la Sorbonne du costé de la cour

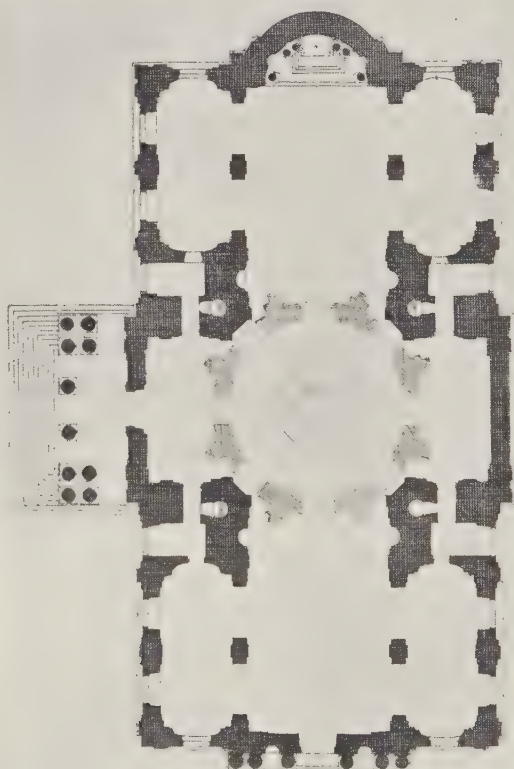


[Marot

SIDE ELEVATION



ELEVATION OF FAÇADE



[Marot

GROUND PLAN

THE CHURCH OF THE SORBONNE: PARIS (PP. 71-73)
(LEMERCIER, ARCHITECT)

seilles, and persuaded Richelieu and his niece, the Duchesse D'Aiguillon, to found hospitals for convicts, hospitals for children, hospitals for incurables, and the immense establishment of the Salpêtrière. Eleven religious houses were founded in the Faubourg St. Germain alone, and sixteen in the "ville," that is Paris within the walls of that date.¹ A fresh start was made in church building such as had not occurred in France for over a hundred years. It was the French parallel to the Laudian Revival in England, and the difference in the architectural expression of the two movements is suggestive: Laud looking backward rather than forward, a man of sincere convictions, but desperate and bewildered, clung to the old ways, his cause was for the time the failing cause, and there is a pathetic hint of this in the half-forgotten Gothic of the churches of his time, so remote from the main track of architecture, so obviously inadequate to express the passionate conviction that inspired it. We turn to France, and everything is reversed. Instead of Laud's confused vision, the clear-cut policy of Richelieu; instead of the half-rustic manner of the English builders, the stately rhythm and proportion of neo-classic architecture, the logical embodiment of the ceremonial of the Roman Church, with its constant leaning to pageantry. Lemer cier and his colleagues seem to have had one eye on Rome and the other on the court in their designs for churches, and in spite of their merits, a touch of insincerity, some slight suggestion of the theatre, leave one less enthusiastic perhaps than one should be. There are moments when one wearies of the magnificence of Le Nôtre, and longs for the woodlands of England in the spring.

No such unseasonable reflections ever troubled the French court architects in the seventeenth century. Lemer cier pursued his manner with confidence and success. In 1629 Richelieu, who had been appointed "Provis eur" of the Sorbonne,² determined to rebuild the college and employed Lemer cier to design the buildings. The college was begun the same year, and in May 1635 Richelieu laid the first stone of the Church of the Sorbonne, the most memorable work by Lemer cier

¹ De Breul, "Supplement to the Antiquités de Paris," 48.

² An honorary appointment, somewhat analagous to that of Chancellor of an English university. Shortly after the works had begun the Sorbonne found itself unable to comply with some desire of Richelieu, and the Cardinal, furious at any opposition, was on the point of dropping the whole scheme. The college has been rebuilt from the designs of M. Nenot. Blondel describes Lemer cier's building as consisting of an oblong court, with three storeys and an attic, and four great pavilions in five storeys at the angles. The buildings are shown in Marot's views.

that now remains. With the exception of a shallow projection at the east end, the plan is included in an oblong, measuring externally about 144 ft. by 78 ft.¹ Over the crossing is a dome, 38 ft. in diameter and 102 ft. 4 in. high from pavement to top of dome. This dome, in fact, dominates the whole design, for, with its abutments, it occupies more than half the total area of the church. Lemercier may have been warned by what he had heard of the failures in the dome of St. Peter's in Rome, anyhow he provided very massive abutments at the four angles, with arches some 20 ft. on the soffits on the north and south sides, forming the transepts. A similar arch on the west side opens to the nave which is in two bays with side chapels, and on the east side to the choir, which repeats the design of the nave, with the exception of a recess for the high altar at the east end. The west façade is perhaps the best example of the Jesuit manner in France. From the ground level to the top of the pediment it measures 80 ft., and according to Blondel this follows the correct proportion of height to width, the rule being that the height should be the width plus $\frac{1}{4}$. The side bays are a good deal wider than the Church of the Gesu at Rome, in order to make room for the windows which rather injure the design, as they weaken the apparent solidity of the façade, and are less satisfactory than the plain walls of the design of Vignola or della Porta in the Gesu at Rome. The great trusses or Consoles supporting the centre are overdone and badly drawn. The curve at the base is too flat, and the vertical part is carried too far down the wall before it breaks out into the curve. The centre doorway is too small, and contradicts unpleasantly the composition of the windows placed high up at the end of the aisles, and the niches on either side of the entrance are rather small, but in other regards the details are scholarly. In its reticence and dignity Lemercier's work is an advance on what De Brosse did at St. Gervais, and Derand at St. Paul and St. Louis, and the composition of the dome with the west façade was ahead of anything yet done in France.²

The north elevation, facing the court, is less happy, though Lemercier was probably not responsible for the omission of the architrave, in order to give room for the inscription. Blondel believed that this was

¹ These dimensions are taken by scale from Blondel's plan ("Arch. Franç.," ii), and do not agree with the measurements as stated in his description: "L'intérieur de cette église a de longueur 25 toises dans œuvre et a 12 toises et demie de largeur." By plan it actually scales 111½ toises inside by 22 toises 1 foot exclusive of the recess for the high altar.

² In the centre window of the upper storey of the west façade a clock with figures has been inserted, apparently dating from the last century.



[N. D. photo.]

INTERIOR OF ST. ROCH, PARIS (P. 74)

done later, "Lemercier était trop instruit des principes des anciens." Lemercier here introduced for the first time the detached colonnade carrying a wide pediment, which became a common feature in later work; but he made no attempt to combine this with the design of the upper part of the transept, and the pediment cuts unpleasantly into the semicircular windows of the transepts. French architects were still only feeling their way to the theory of classical architecture. The want of relation between the pediment and the window and the steep slate roofs rising above the balustrades show that Lemercier, able architect as he was, had not yet thought his way through to the essential principles of neo-classic architecture. For the cramped effect of the court leading up to the north transept Lemercier was not responsible. The Cardinal's intention had been to have an open space of considerable depth in front of the façade. This unfortunately was not carried out, with the result that the composition cannot be seen as a whole, and the high buildings on either side of the court dwarf the colonnade and pediment. Still it is an imposing monument seen from the further end of the court, and justifies Blondel's praise of Lemercier for a certain weighty gravity of manner.

The effect of the interior is sombre and dreary, Blondel thought¹ on account of the smallness of the openings; more probably this is due to the absence of any windows in the arches, and to a certain monotony of treatment. The placing of the dome over the centre of the nave is less imaginative than François Mansart's conception of a dome at the further end of the nave, as in the Church of Val de Grâce. But the Sorbonne was the first venture of its kind in France, and in knowledge of the antique and scholarly feeling it reached a level undreamt of by the architects of the sixteenth century, and led on to the domes of the Church of the Val de Grâce, and of the Invalides.

Almost in the last year of his life Lemercier prepared designs for the Church of St. Roch, begun in 1653, but carried on so intermittently that it is difficult to disentangle his part in the actual building. The elliptical Chapel of the Virgin, to the east of the main church, with the aisle running round it and leading to the Chapel of the Ascension, was not built till 1709.² The west façade was built in 1736 from the designs of Robert de Cotte, and the internal decorations were not completed when Blondel was writing his "Architecture Française." Blondel, however, appears to attribute the general design of the building to Lemercier, and its plan is certainly original, a nave in five bays with side

¹ "Arch. Franç.," iii, 117.

² Blondel.

aisles leads to the crossing, with a dome elliptical in section over the centre. Three more bays to the east of this form the choir, with a semicircular apse of three arches, round which sweep the aisles of the choir. Under the central arch of the apse, and on the axis line east and west, was placed the altar, and to the east of this and opposite to it is a wide opening leading into the Chapel of the Virgin, elliptical in plan, with a second altar placed under the central arch on the east side, and beyond this again the aisles or ambulatory running round this chapel debouch on to the Chapel of the Communion, at the extreme east end of the building. Thus as one entered from the west end it was possible to see past the two altars standing under the eastern arches of the choir and Chapel of the Virgin, to the chapel at the extreme east end of the church. The only defect in this conception, and it is a serious one, is that, although the ground fell a matter of seven feet from the east end to the west end in the Rue St. Honoré, the floor of the church was kept level from end to end. Lemercier, if he was the designer of this scheme, threw away a magnificent opportunity in not raising his levels as he moved from west to east; but Lemercier's connection with St. Roch is rather obscure. The treatment of the interior of the main church is timid, and particularly weak in design at the four angles under the pendentives to the dome. It is strange that a man who, thirty years before, was capable of the fine design of the Oratory should have dropped to the commonplace level of the interior of St. Roch. Possibly failing health may have forced him to leave the work in inferior hands. The same failure to grasp the full imaginative possibilities of the building is shown in the excessive amount of window space. Blondel, who comments severely on the habit of sacrificing architectural effects to the exigencies of lighting the paintings in a church, sums up his remarks with the trenchant criticism that "too much obscurity is bad, but too much light in a church is damnable."

The manner of design which these churches illustrate, based as it was on Vignola, but by no means a servile copy, became the official type of French church architecture throughout the seventeenth century, but it was not followed universally throughout the country. In the provinces it was adopted with free variations. At Richelieu, Lemercier gave a simpler version of the west front of the Sorbonne, extending the side bays, doubling the pilasters at the extreme ends of the lower storey, and putting single pilasters to the upper storey, exactly reversing what he had done at the Sorbonne. To the east of the crossing he introduced the unusual feature of the two towers with lead-covered

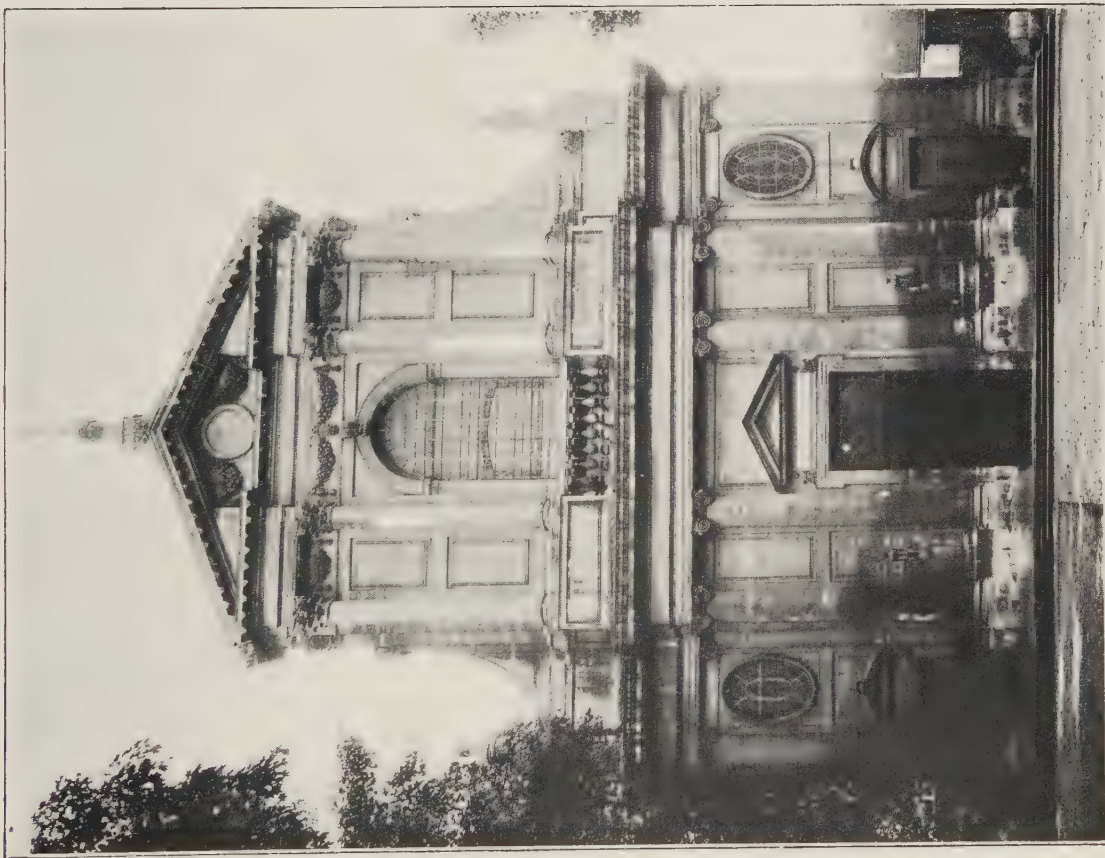


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[*Mon. Hist.*

NOTRE DAME: CAEN (p. 75)

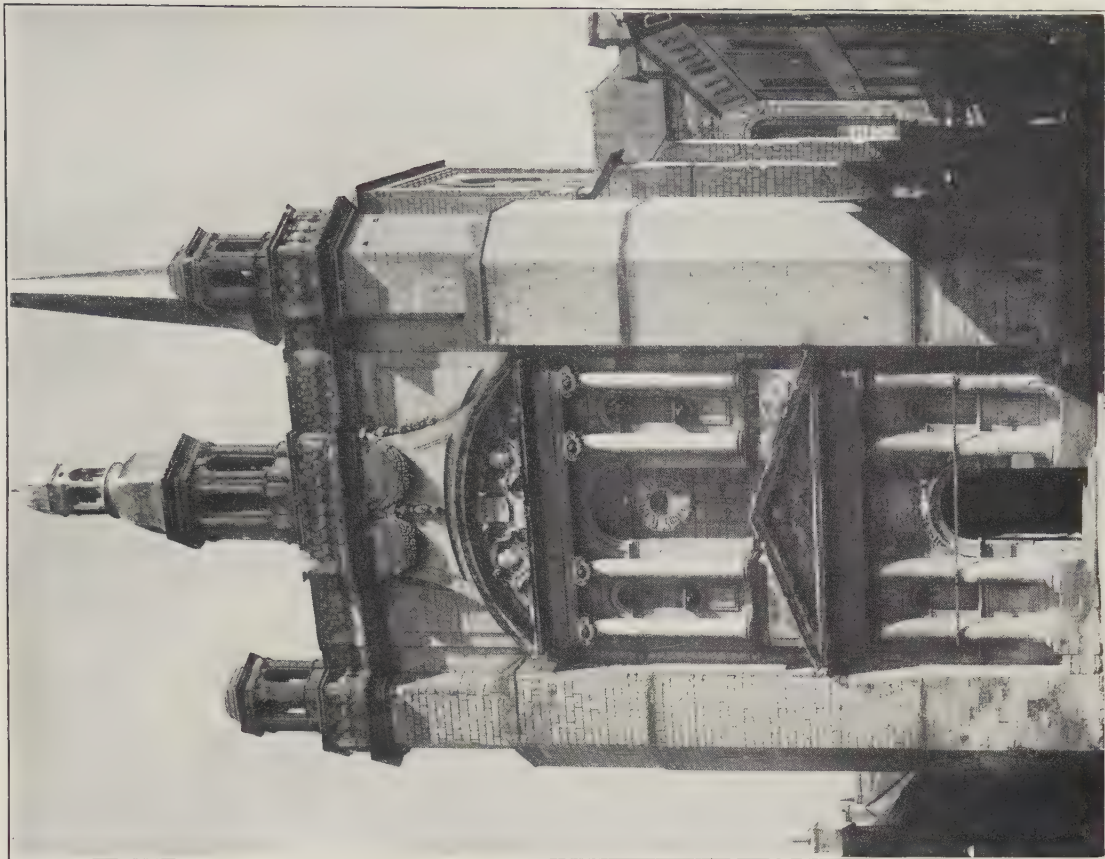


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[*Mon. Hist.*

ST. PIERRE: SAUMUR (p. 76)

spires, which anticipate in general treatment what Wren was to do in the City churches. The steep-hipped roof showing behind and above the pediment of the west façade is a curious and characteristic anomaly. Even with Lemercier, scholarly and learned architect as he was, the old leaven remained. The steep roofs of an older tradition, coming down as they do without balustrade, or even a blocking course, on to the main cornice, have no coherence with the horizontal lines of the neo-classic design. The result is picturesque and attractive, but something is wrong, probably the pediment. Its flat triangle makes an awkward contrast with the steep-pitched roof behind it; yet the pediment was, at any rate to Lemercier, indispensable in order to complete the classical façade according to rule and precedent.

At Vannes, the west façade of the seminary chapel¹ is more successful in screening the steep-pitched roof, which is very nearly concealed by the front, but this is done at the expense of the proportion of the façade as a whole, which is narrow and high as compared with the comfortable width of the church at Richelieu. At Blois the architect of the Church of St. Vincent de Paul attempted a logical treatment by carrying the cornice of the entablatures of his second order all round the building at the level of the springing of the roof, and forming an attic storey with pediment and consoles to mask the end of the roof. The result is not successful owing to the clumsiness of the detail, the absence of any sufficient plinth to the lower storey, and the tedious emphasis of the repeated cornices of the orders. Perhaps the most successful of these façades is the Church of Nôtre Dame at Caen.² Here panels are substituted for the usual niches between the columns, and instead of the habitual Doric and Ionic orders, an Ionic order is used on the lower storey, and Corinthian above it, with swags the depth of the caps. Instead of pilasters, three-quarter engaged columns are used for the centre bay, and the central doorway and window are recessed. The result is a much stronger composition than the rather flat façades of Richelieu and Vannes. The only defect of the façade is the narrowness of the two side bays. The ample spread of the consoles over the side bays of the façade seems to be necessary to complete designs in this manner, as may be seen from the remarkable example of the Oratory at Nantes,³ where there are no side aisles, and the angles

¹ Now the Collège Jules Simon.

² The Church of Nôtre Dame, or de la Gloriette, at Caen was built 1684-89 for the Jesuits, it is said, from the designs of the Procureur of the College, Père André. See G. S. Trebutien, "Caen, son histoire," etc., 122-126.

³ Now "Archives Départementales."

are only marked by engaged pilasters, which leave scanty room for the almost vertical consoles flanking the upper order. At St. Pierre, Saumur, a somewhat similar design (spoilt by two pediments, one over the other) was interpolated in an older façade, and as it occupies the space between two very plain and massive angle turrets, the effect is more satisfactory. In the provinces, however, when neo-classic design was attempted, the designers paid little attention to what was being done in Paris. At Rennes, for example, the west front of the Eglise Toussaint has a huge façade of three orders in three bays carried up without any set-back. There is a small segmental pediment over the centre bay, the two side bays end abruptly with a blocking course, above which are stone octagonal storeys with cupolas. Although this was once the chapel of a Jesuit college (1624-57), there is no trace of their manner here, and the Fathers probably left the work to a local man. Indeed, as I have pointed out in the case of the Chapel of Eu, though Jesuit architecture followed a well-defined type, the Jesuits, probably owing to local circumstances, were not always able to carry it out in the orthodox manner of Vignola. Churches were not always built by highly trained architects, and in remote places the local designers followed their own devices and produced such strange inventions as that of the south doorway of St. Gildas (1636)¹ at Auray in Brittany.

In 1634 Richelieu built the choir and north and south chapels of the Church of Les Ardeliers, near Saumur. It is not known if Lemercier were the architect, though it is probable that he was, and the ornament of the interior, elaborate and somewhat forced in expression, is characteristic of the work of the later part of the reign of Louis XIII. Although a tradition of neo-classic was being built up in France, there was still room for wide variations in detail. Sometimes the ornamentalist ran riot, as in the entrance of the Church of St. Nicholas at Compiègne, and the elaborate and finely carved wood-work of the interior. Sometimes, as in the Chapel of La Trinité at Fontainebleau, the architect (Lemercier) seems to have lost touch of his decorators. There is some exquisitely delicate wood-work here, anticipating the detail of Wren's interiors, and excelling it in refinement. There are also some rather attractive figures and cartouches in stucco in the vaulting of the chapel, which remind one of the Fontainebleau tradition of a hundred years before; but the two quarrel in scale. The wood-work is too small, or the plaster-work is too big, and it is here that Lemercier fails. More thoroughly trained than Wren, having workmen not less

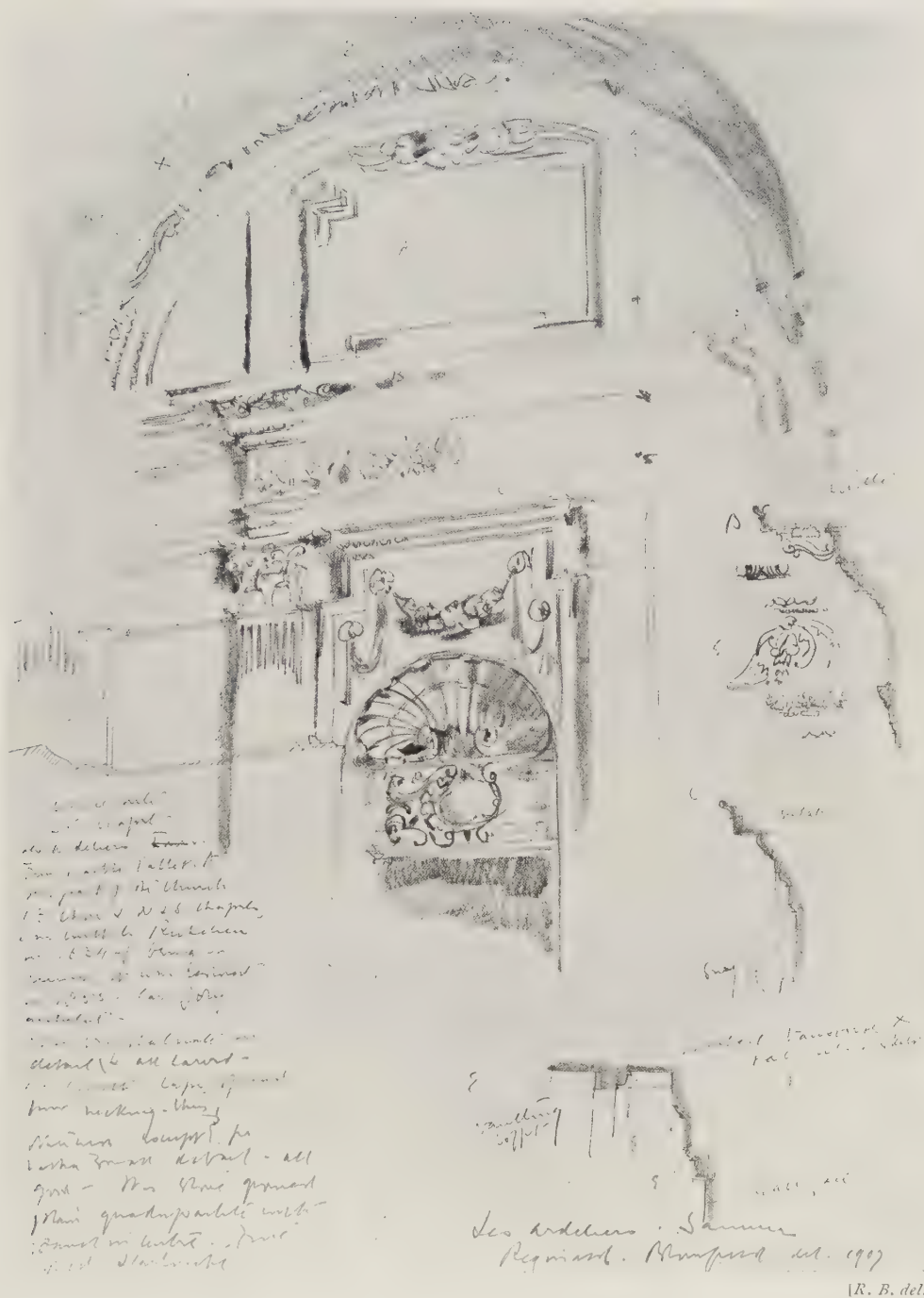
¹ See vol. ii, ch. xi, p. 10.



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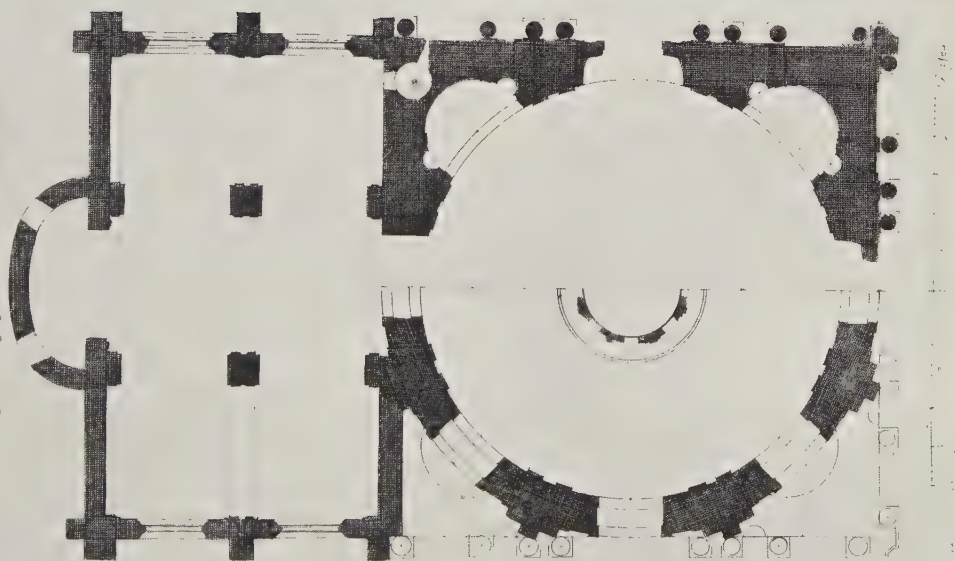
[Mon. Hist.

CHAPEL OF THE LYCÉE: EU, SEINE INF. (P. 76)



DETAILS: CHURCH OF LES ARDELIERS, SAUMUR

*Le Don de l'Eglise de nostre Dame des Châlières les Saumur
Que fait baillir Monseigneur le Comte de Sennien*

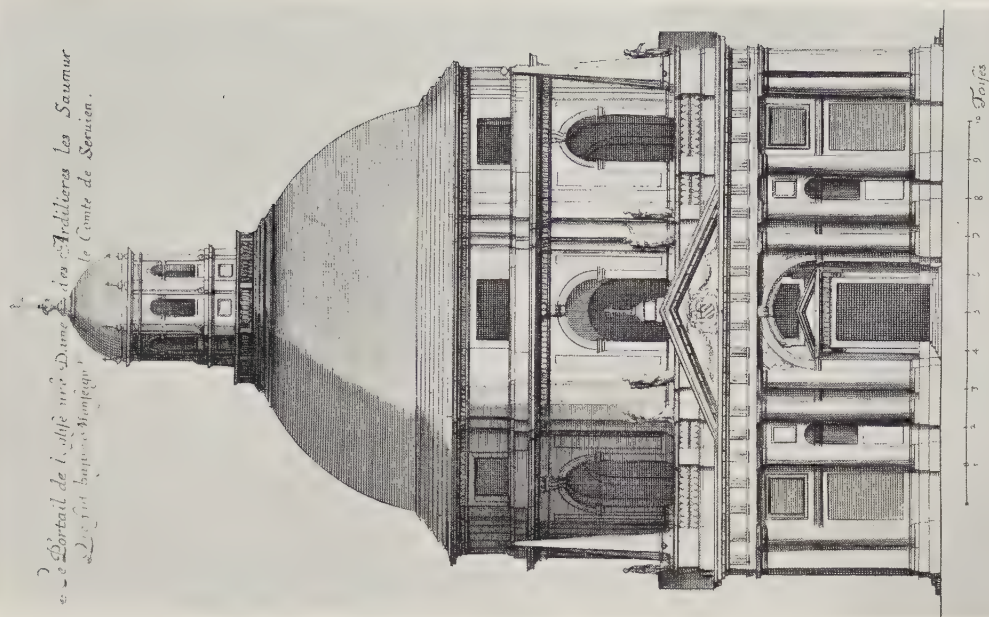


[Marot]

LES ARDELIERS: SAUMUR (P. 76)

GROUND PLAN

Le Portail de l'église n'est que d'une seule Arrière Les Saumur
de l'église n'est que d'une seule Arrière Les Saumur



Tea Marot fecit

Marot

LES ARDELIERS: SAUMUR (P. 76)

ENTRANCE



[R. B. del.]

CARTOUCHE IN STUCCO, BY LEMERCIER: CHAPEL OF LA TRINITÉ, FONTAINEBLEAU (P. 76)

skilful, he yet falls far below the English architect in genuine architectural quality, that is in the power of organic design, in that faculty of imaginative foresight which enabled Wren to bring the whole of his resources together into one great and cumulative impact on the emotions. François Mansart had that quality in a transcendent degree, but I doubt if any other modern architect has possessed Wren's compelling power of keeping his work together. The Frenchmen of the latter part of the seventeenth century undoubtedly possessed this power, but the careful limitations which they imposed on their work, and the purely conventional character of their ornament, to some extent reduced the difficulty of the problem.

Since that date this quality has to a great extent been lost, and the point is one which has been overlooked in most of the familiar criticisms of architecture since the days of Blondel. In the various fashions which have succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity for the last hundred years, the search has been, not for architectural quality, but for archaeological verisimilitudes. Correct sections of mouldings, exact transcripts of ornament, have been the subject of unceasing study, and there can be no doubt that some excellent imitations of mediaeval and Renaissance features have been made both in this country and in France; but the habit of considering architecture merely as an affair of precious detail has cut at the very root of the art. It has gone far to obliterate one of the first principles of architecture, that the part is only justified by its relation to the whole. It has, in consequence, taught the layman to look for architecture in the wrong place, it has led him to suppose that the architecture of the Ducal Palace is to be sought for in the capitals of its arcade, and that Waterloo Bridge, one of the noblest monuments in the world, is not architecture at all. No such misapprehension would have been possible two hundred years ago. Architects might content themselves with ornament that had no symbolical meaning, and architectural features that had been used a hundred times before, but they seldom failed to study closely the part that the one and the other played in the general scheme, giving emphasis where necessary in the design, and accentuating the rhythm. They never lost sight of that unity of effect which is essential to architecture. Lemer cier himself did not completely reach that high level of attainment, but he advanced a long way towards it, and the progress from the early days of the ornament-alists to the mature art of the reign of Louis XIV, though constantly checked, was in its main lines continuous.

The advance in architectural sense shown in Lemercier's work as compared with that of Bullant and De l'Orme is scarcely less than that of those valiant pioneers of architecture on the work of the builder designers of François I. We are at length approaching the period of complete development after something like 150 years of effort and experiment. The technicalities of neo-classic, the orders, their proportions and relations, the details of architectural ornament, no longer presented any difficulties to the architects of Louis XIII. They were not paralysed by the vastness of any undertaking. The architects of the grand gallery at the Louvre, of Fontainebleau, of the Luxembourg, of Richelieu, the men who designed the Place Royale and the Place de France, had little to learn in the conduct of great enterprises in building. But as yet, and with one exception, they were not past masters in the art. The subtleties of proportion, the vital quality of scale, still eluded them, and we look in vain for the one inevitable phrase, the perfect unity of effect. It was reserved for François Mansart, alone among these able men, to set the seal of genius on French neo-classic architecture.

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THE PALAIS ROYAL (PP. 79-81)

CHAPTER XVI

LEMERCIER (CONTINUED)

LEMERCIER'S skill as a designer of churches was generally recognized. As an architect of domestic and civic buildings he has received somewhat unfavourable criticism. Nicholas Poussin had the poorest possible opinion of his taste as a decorator; but a painter's opinion of an architect is not always conclusive. Blondel, however, considered that Lemer cier was less successful with civil and domestic architecture than he was with ecclesiastical, and Dezallier d'Argenville says bluntly that Lemer cier's genius seemed to desert him when he came to the plan and decoration of houses. "Ses ordonnances sont lourdes, ses compositions froides, l'aspect de leurs différentes parties est pauvre et sec, on y remarque des parties trop grandes opposées à de trop petites, et de trop grosses en opposition avec des parties trop foibles."¹ D'Argenville is here repeating Poussin, and though there is force in the criticism it has to be discounted by the fact that D'Argenville wrote in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the ideals of architecture were very different from what they had been in the reign of Louis XIII. Nor was this the opinion in which Lemer cier was generally held. Richelieu, at any rate, had full confidence in his abilities, and employed him to design both his house in Paris, and his house and town at Richelieu, the latter perhaps the most important undertaking of its kind since the early days of Fontainebleau. In 1629 the Hôtel de Richelieu, afterwards known as the Palais Royal,² was begun from the design of Lemer cier. Blondel says that in the first instance it was an inconsiderable building, but that it grew as the Cardinal advanced in power, which probably accounted for "the irregularity of its distribution." The Cardinal himself took such an active part in arranging the

¹ Dezallier d'Argenville, "Vie des fameux Architectes," i, 345.

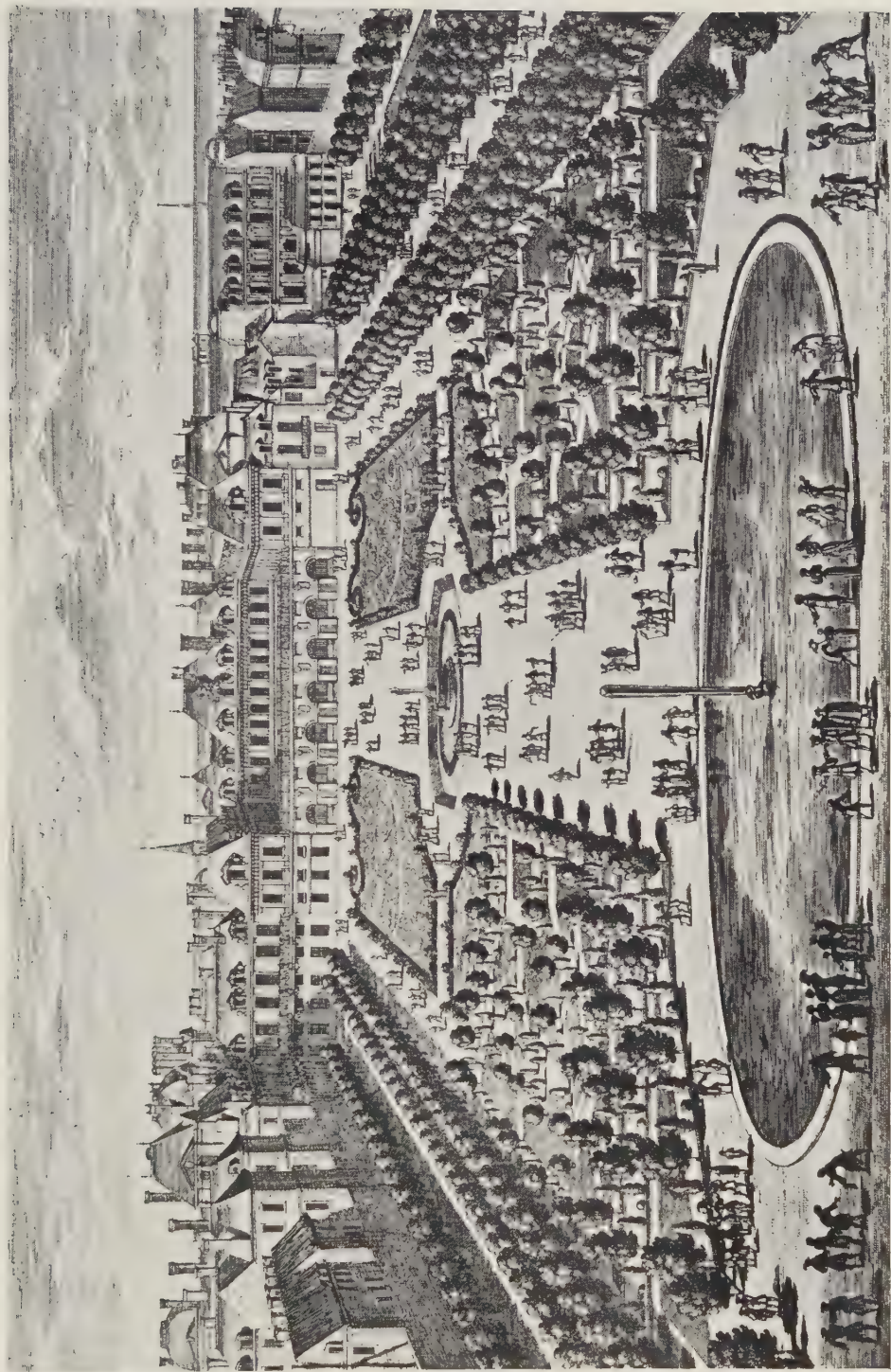
² In 1639 Richelieu presented the palace to the royal family, and it was then and afterwards known as the Palais Royal. After the Cardinal's death Anne of Austria allowed his niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, to restore the name Palais Cardinal over the entrance, but it continued to be called the Palais Royal (Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," iii, 37).

plan, that in order to protect Lemer cier's reputation from his enemies, he generously announced that he was his own architect.¹ The building was so much altered and added to by Hardouin Mansart, Legrand, Cartaud, Coutant, and Oppenord, that scarcely any of Lemer cier's work was left. When d'Argenville wrote, all that remained were the wings of the second court, designed as a single order with an attic, and of these he remarks: "Elles sont d'un mauvais goût, et rappellent les temps de barbarie heureusement eclipsés." From the serene heights of the art of Louis XVI d'Argenville distributed his awards with Olympian complacency. His critical judgements, however, are far less sound than those of Blondel. D'Argenville's description is probably inaccurate. No single order appears in the five plates Marot gave to this building, except the main entrance. In the two enclosed courts and in the court on the garden side, the building is shown probably much as Lemer cier left it, as of two storeys with lucarnes in the steep-pitched roofs. The plan consisted of an entrance court, much too small, surrounded on three sides by buildings, with a screen building on the front to the street. Beyond this was the main court, or court of honour, open on the side next the garden, from which it was separated by a one-storey screen. To the right of the entrance court was the Salle de Spectacle, built by the orders of the Cardinal, whose solitary weakness was a vain ambition to excel as a play-actor and author, and who actually had his plays written by five poets, among them the great Corneille himself.² At the back of this and to the right of the Court of Honour was the base-court, subsequently partly built over by Coutant in the eighteenth century. A wing ran out to the left which in the eighteenth-century transformation became one side of the court, running round three sides of the private garden, but as shown in Marot's view, which was made before the designs were altered in 1692, this part of the Palace was left incomplete. Marot's engravings are a useful check on the criticisms of later writers. In the bird's-eye view the seventeenth-century design of the gardens is shown, with a broad walk down the centre, two fountains in large basins with avenues of mulberry trees on either side, a pleasant enough design, which makes it difficult to understand Blondel's remark about this garden that before the alterations by Desgots in 1730, "C'étoit fort peu de chose, et il se ressentait de l'ignorance où l'on étoit sur cette partie de l'architecture,"³ *i.e.*, the art of garden designing. As a matter of

¹ Sauval, ii, 159.

² Mariéjol, "Hist. de France," vi, 2, 467.

³ Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," iii, 37.



[Perelle fecit.]

THE GARDEN OF THE PALAIS ROYAL (P. 80)

fact, some admirable work in ground designing was done between 1620 and the time of Louis XIV, and Le Nôtre, admirable artist as he was, simply developed a well-established tradition of design. Blondel's historical generalizations are of less value than his critical judgements. The entrance front of the Palais Cardinal, a screen in two storeys, severely rusticated, survived most of the eighteenth-century alterations, and though Blondel admitted that it had certain merits of proportion and vigour, he considered the whole design too heavy, and unsuitable for the residence of a noble lord. " 'La Convenance' must be observed by architects at all costs," the house of a great magnate should show unmistakably that it was not the house of a mere private gentleman.

Of the great houses that Lemer cier designed about 1632 for the Maréchal Ruzé d'Effiat at Chilly-Mazarin, near Long-Jumeau, little is left, and a like ill fortune has befallen the prodigious houses that he designed for the Cardinal at Richelieu. Great statesman and patriot as he undoubtedly was, Richelieu must have drawn an enormous fortune from the State. At the outset of his political career in 1617, all he possessed was 25,000 livres of revenue from his benefices. On the death of his elder brother in 1619 he came in for about as much more as his heir; but in 1634 his stated revenue was over 500,000 livres, and in the years following it exceeded 3,000,000, "dont la moitié fût fournie par l'Eglise."¹ Nothing less than such resources could have sufficed for this "goût du vaste," the megalomania from which Richelieu suffered, in common with many other Frenchmen of genius. The rebuilding of the Sorbonne and the Palais Cardinal would have been enough for most people in the way of building. The Palais Cardinal alone was said to have cost 10,000,000 livres. Yet at the same time he embarked on the enterprise of a complete new town at Richelieu, and the gigantic house that he had built for himself on the site of his father's home, with its avenues, base-courts, forecourts, courts of honour, moat canals, corps de logis, wings, galleries, stables, gardens, woods, and park, as they are set out in Marot's views of the magnificent Château of Richelieu.² The scale of the whole scheme is astounding. As one approached the Château, three straight roads laid out as a "patte d'oie" converged on a circle 300 ft. in diameter, of which rather more than half was bounded by concentric walls, terminating in pavilions where the side roads entered the circle. The principal entrance was opposite the central avenue, and opened on to a base-court 325 ft. wide by 355 ft. long, with

¹ Mariéjol, "Hist. de France," vi, 2, 435.

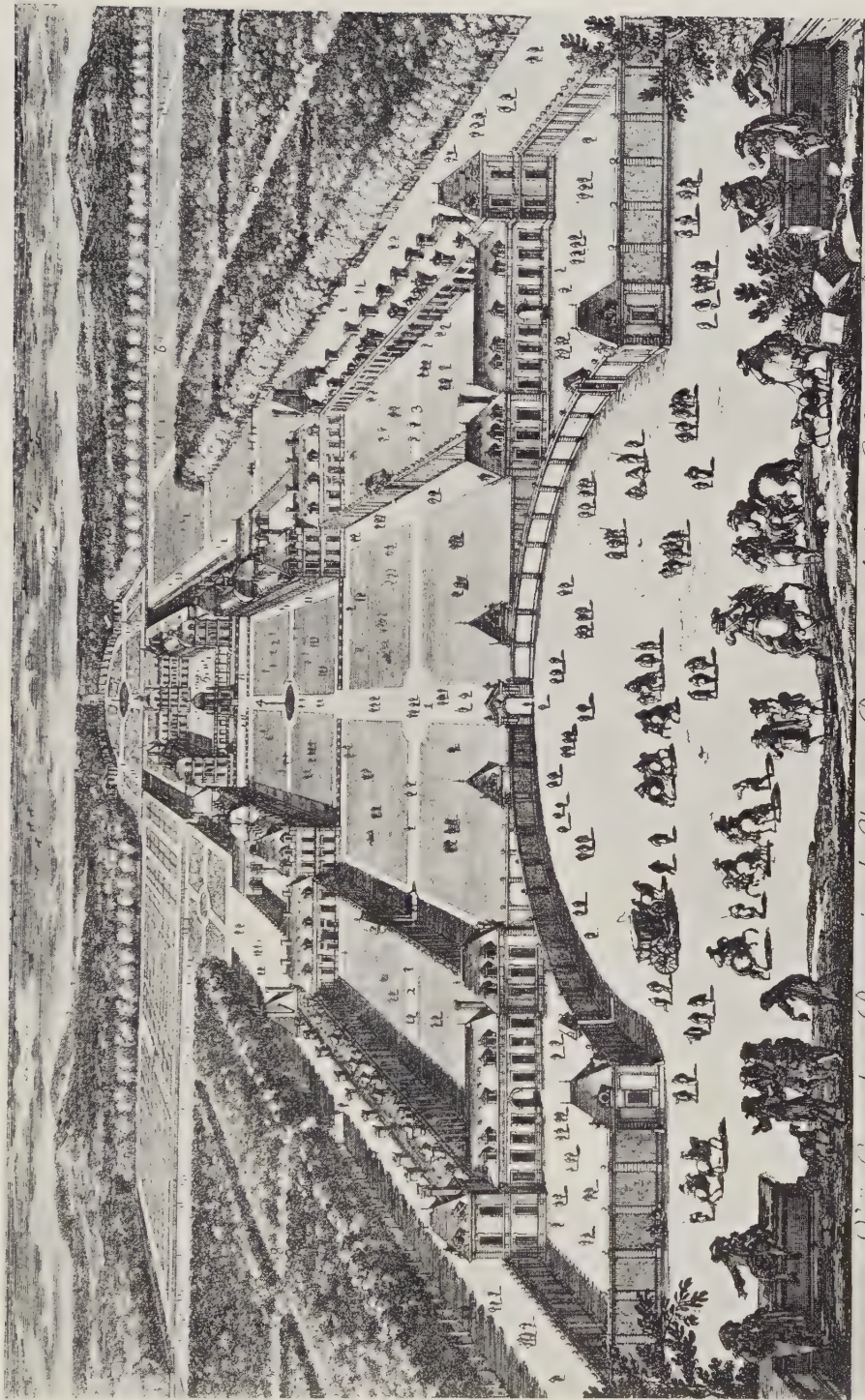
² Dedicated to the Duc de Richelieu, by De Buisine.

pavilions at the four angles. The side walls screened off this court from two long narrow courts on either side, each 100 ft. wide by 325 ft. long, that on the right being used for farm buildings, that on the left for stabling for fifty farm horses. The total width of façade given by these three courts was 600 ft. Beyond the base-court, and still approaching the house was an ante-court, 300 ft. long by 252 ft. wide, with a low wall separating it from the base-court, but open on the side opposite the house. On either side of this were buildings in two storeys with dormers in the roof, for lodgement of servants on the right, and for stables and servants' rooms on the left. These buildings were 336 ft. long, with pavilions at the ends, and large central pavilions 48 ft. square, carried up three storeys with pediments on the front, and covered in by curved quadrangular roofs, with lanterns and cupolas at the top, and measuring 90 ft. from the ground line to the ball at the top of the cupola. Stables are shown for about sixty horses. On the house side of this ante-court ran a broad walk some 35 ft. wide, parallel to the front of the house, which continued for about a mile or so to the left in a straight line to the town,¹ a corresponding gateway opening on to the park on the right. From this walk a bridge crossed the moat, giving access to the château. This was built on a platform or "fausse-braye," surrounded entirely by the moat, with stone retaining walls, and a baluster wall allowing a free passage all round the house. At the four angles were bastions with square returns for the balustrade wall, the two outer sides meeting at an acute and not a right angle—a curious reminiscence of the military engineering of the time.

The general plan of the château was exceedingly simple, consisting of a court measuring internally 170 ft. by 210 ft. on the right hand side, and 204 ft. on the left. Why the building was set out askew on its platform it is impossible to say, unless it was in order to build on the old foundations. In Marot's elevation of the garden front, a room on the first floor of the south-west pavilion is described as "chambre de l'ancien bastiment, dans lequel naquit le grand Cardinal de Richelieu,"² and between this and the grand staircase in the centre, a room marked "E" is called "salle de l'ancien bastiment," so that Lemer cier pre-

¹ M. Mariéjol wrongly describes the town as having been built by Lemer cier "pour servir de cadre" to the Château. "Ville, église, château, c'était déjà l'idée de Versailles." This is picturesque, but inaccurate. The town at Versailles crowds up to the gate of the palace. At Richelieu it is at a considerable distance from the site of the château, and only the chimneys and tower of the church would have been visible over the tops of the trees.

² He was in fact born in Paris. See note, p. 84.



Vue Générale en Perspective du Château Basecourt, Appartours, Jardins, &c. de Richelieu.
1. Dofacour. 2. Arrière-cour ou sont les Boudoirs, Boudoirs, et Manegerie. 3. le Grand Jardin. 4. Antécour ou sont les belles Ecuries, le Manège, & autres Appartements. 5. le Grand Parc. 6. le Grand Jardin. 7. le Grand Jardin. 8. le Grand Jardin. 9. le Grand Jardin. 10. le Grand Jardin. 11. le Grand Jardin. 12. le Grand Jardin.

[Perelle fecit

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CHÂTEAU OF RICHELIEU (P. 82)

served some at any rate of the older house. Three sides of the court were enclosed by buildings, the fourth and entrance side was as usual kept low and enclosed by a screen wall with an important entrance in the centre. At the angles of the entrance façade were pavilions, 36 ft. square, carried up three storeys to a height of 50 ft. from the ground to the top of the blocking course and covered in with quadrangular domes, terminating in a lantern and cupola 90 ft. high from the ground to the finial. The two other angles were differently treated; these measured 36 ft. at the side, by about 30 ft. at the ends, and instead of the dome, Lemer cier covered them with steep-pitched hipped roofs, reserving his dome and cupola for the centre of the wing opposite the entrance, where he put his grand staircase. This measures 36 ft. by 50 ft., but in spite of the oblong plan, Lemer cier adhered to the motive of his front pavilions, making his roof and the lantern above it oblong in plan instead of square. The effect cannot have been very satisfactory in perspective, moreover the substitution of the oblong pavilion at the garden ends for the square pavilions of the front must have given a curiously incomplete appearance to the composition, only partly redeemed at the side by the relation of the cupola of the front façade to the central cupolas of the buildings flanking the ante-court. The effect is clearly shown in Marot's fine perspective of the château as seen from the gardens. The sides to the court were more elaborate; each bay consisted of two storeys, with pediments above the upper window and rather elaborate stone Lucarnes above the cornice. Between each bay on the ground floor were roundels for busts, with swags of bay leaves, and above these on the upper floor were niches for full-length figures. All these roundels and niches were filled with busts and figures. Richelieu must have had skilful agents abroad to form his collection, and Tallemant des Reaux says that he was extremely inexact in his payments for works of arts, in some cases simply appropriating what took his fancy. In niches along the south side were figures of the Venus de Médicis, Antinous, and Caracalla; on the opposite side were a Venus supposed to be by Pheidias, a Cleopatra, and a Bacchus "of admirable beauty." Over the entrance to the main staircase were the two Captives by Michelangelo, I presume removed from Ecouen; to the left were a Jupiter "antique, bien conservé," and an "Apollon bellissime, antique," to the right were a "Meleager antique," a Venus of Praxiteles, and a "Pompée antique." Altogether, Marot says there were in the château a hundred full-length figures, all antiques, with the exception of twelve or thirteen, and a hundred and six busts, also antique, with a few excep-

tions. The entrance portico, opposite the drawbridge, had figures of Mars and Hercules in niches on either side of the doorway, and a figure of Louis XIII over the entrance. Above the dome which surmounted the centre was a bronze figure of Fame by Guillaume Berthelot,¹ and on either side of the centre composition were "columnae rostratae" of "marbre jaspé."

All the principal rooms were on the first floor, the ground floor being occupied by kitchens and offices, with the chapel at the end of the south-east pavilion, and the office of the Marine (Richelieu was head of the Marine)² opposite. The King's suite was on the first floor, overlooking the garden; these rooms were panelled and enriched with magnificent sculpture and elaborate ceilings, "le tout d'or, verni et mat." In the King's cabinet were two Andrea Mantegnas, a Perugino, and three Bacchanals by Poussin. The Cardinal's own rooms were in the south-west pavilion, where he was said to have been born.³ The gallery occupied the upper floor of the south wing, from pavilion to pavilion, and was decorated with twenty pictures of the conquests of Louis XIII compared with the conquests of the Greeks and Romans. This gallery appears to have opened into the salon in the south-east pavilion, the dome of which was painted by Freminet,⁴ with figures of the four evangelists and the Fathers of the Church. Richelieu seems to have spared nothing to make his château the most splendid in France. All that is now left of it is the central pavilion of the north side of the ante-court, and the moat and the platform on which the château stood. The rest of it was pulled down and sold for old materials by a degenerate descendant in the eighteenth century.

The Cardinal had provided for the lodgement of himself, the King and Queen, and his immediate attendants, but that was about all, for the vast house with its single room thickness must have given accommodation scanty out of all proportion to the size of the building. Richelieu was an obscure village, some ten or twelve miles south of Chinon, quite unequal to housing the court and its immense following. The Cardinal solved the problem with characteristic resolution. He

¹ Gonse, "Sculpture Française," 158.

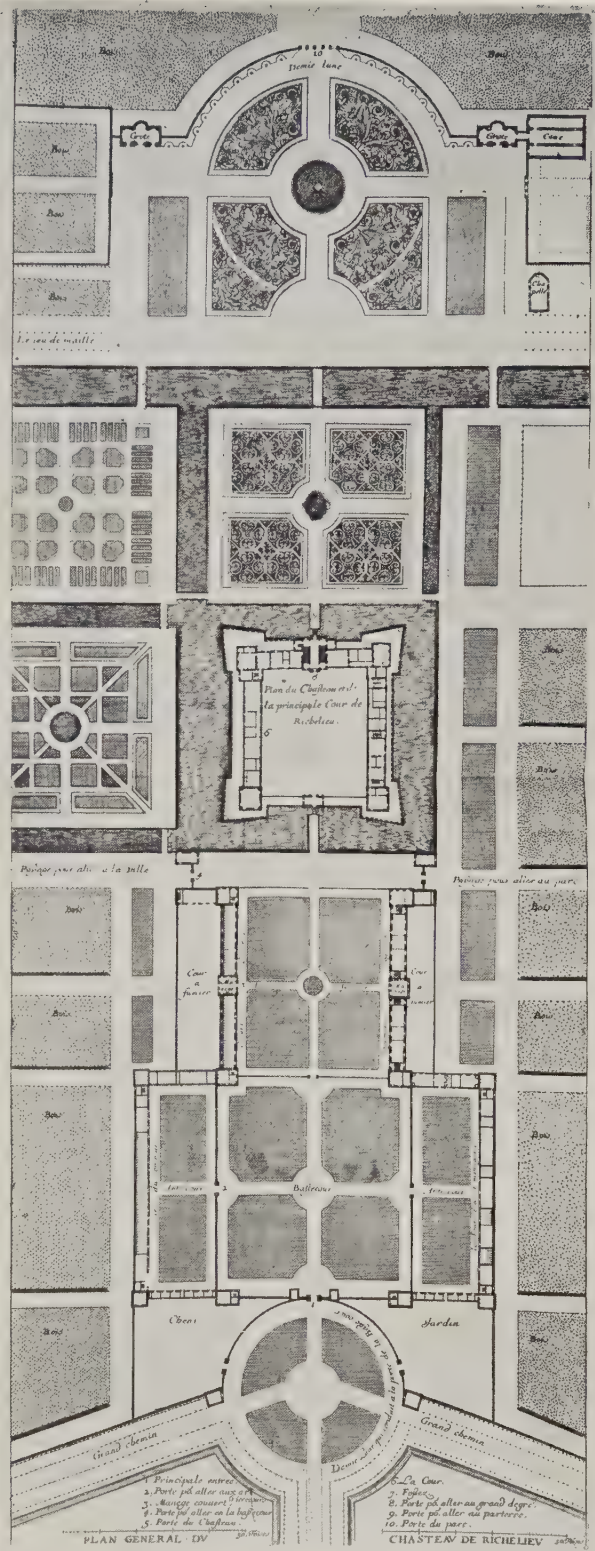
² He bought the place of "Admiral of France" from the Duc de Montmorency in 1626.

³ M. Hanotaux, in his "Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu," shows that Richelieu was born in Paris, and M. Sellier, "Anciens Hôtels de Paris," 186-189, that he was born at the Hôtel d'Aumont, in the Rue de Jouy.

⁴ Freminet also painted the ceiling of the Chapel of La Trinité at Fontainebleau, under Lemercier.



Vue du Château de Richelieu, et de la ville, de la mer, et de la campagne, accompagnée de la description de la ville, et de la campagne.



[Marot]

VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF THE CHÂTEAU AND DEMESNE OF RICHELIEU (PP. 82-85)
(LEMERCIER, ARCHITECT)



Le Château de Richelieu en Poitou du côté de l'Entrée
A Paris chez J. Mariette. rue St-Jacques à la victoire. et aux Colonnes d'Hercules *dessiné et gravé par Perelle.*

[Perelle

THE CHÂTEAU OF RICHELIEU: FRONT ENTRANCE (p. 82)

(LEMERCIER, ARCHITECT)

demolished the village and had an entirely new town built from Lemer cier's designs. The plan of this most interesting little place is symmetrical, rectangular, and enclosed within walls and moat, beyond which now stand splendid avenues of planes. The principal entrances were north and south on the axis line of the road running straight out from the town to the Cardinal's house. The north gate was the "Porte de Châtelherault," and the south gate the "Porte de Chinon." These entrances are solid stone gateways under a central pavilion connected by lengths of wall with advanced pavilions on either side. Over the "Porte de Loudun," on the east side, the stone is still in block over the archway, waiting for the Cardinal's arms, which were never to be carved. Following the road north and south at a distance of thirty paces within the gate a square was formed measuring a hundred yards by a hundred, flanked with lime trees, and intersected by a road east and west at right angles to the main road.¹ Round the sides of the square are two-storeyed houses, each of uniform design, but at the end of each block, where the roadways enter the square, the design is altered, and the houses are carried up another storey, forming eight pavilions at the angles of the roads entering the square. The pavilions on either side of the main road, north and south, continue at the full height for some 325 paces, till the road runs out on to another square precisely similar to the first except that one part of the east side is occupied by the church, admirably placed with its west front to the square, and straight roads running past the north and south sides, so that the whole silhouette of the church shows clear above the pleached lime trees that border the roadways. Thirty paces more take one up to the north gateway, from which the road ran straight out to the château. No description can convey the old-world charm of this delightful little town, far away from the main track of travellers and tradesmen, and slumbering peacefully amid its planes and lime trees. In its way it is unique, a page of the seventeenth century preserved to us intact, and more suggestive of the spirit and purpose of the architecture of the time of Richelieu than any other building that has reached us. It is notable, not only as a memorable example of town planning, but as the first completely new town planned and carried out at one effort since the founding of the free towns of the Middle Ages; and indeed the only other example that I know in France is the first Napoleon's not very successful attempt to rebuild La Roche-sur-Yon as Napoleon-Vendée.

¹ Some further remarks on this plan will be found in "The Mistress Art," 270-274, Blomfield, 1908.

Richelieu had considerable difficulty in getting his town inhabited. The neighbouring town of Loudun, on the other hand, some eight miles distant, possessed a castle and courts of justice; moreover, it was inhabited by Protestants who did a very prosperous trade. According to a curious story,¹ Richelieu resorted to some extraordinary tricks in order to drive the population from Loudun into Richelieu. In order to convince the population of the efficacy of the Roman Catholic religion, he sent down nuns and Jesuits to Richelieu; the nuns to pretend to be possessed by devils, who were to be exorcised by the Jesuits. The Protestants were to be so much impressed that they were to embrace the Roman Catholic religion then and there, and those of them who did were to have their houses for seven years free of all rent with the exception of two capons a year. According to the credulous young man, who had it from his Scotch tutor, this scheme was carried out and Richelieu succeeded in his purpose. The story is, of course, a grotesque travesty of the facts. Loudun, the inhabitants of which belonged to the Reformed Religion, continued to be a prosperous place till it was ruined by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It was the scene of the tragedy of the Ursulines and Urbain Grandier, the Curé of Loudun in 1633 and 1634, and so far was Richelieu from prompting or conniving at these matters that he had Grandier burnt at the stake in 1634.²

The boldness of Richelieu's ideas is not more remarkable than the promptness with which he translated them into action. He had built his château and his private town for his own purposes. About the same time, or possibly earlier, he remodelled another town for the purposes of the state. About eight miles west of Rochfort a long gray mass rises above the horizon of the desolate marshes, the wind-swept elms that grow on the ramparts of Brouage. In 1627 Richelieu had himself appointed Grand-Master and Superintendent-General of the Commerce and Navigation of France. In the following year he obtained from the Queen-Mother the government of the town and port of Brouage, and bought those of Havre and Honfleur from Villars-Brancas, the holder. All the western ports of France were in a deplorable state.³ At Brouage there was no money for harbour works, and the tidal way

¹ "Diary of G. Courthope of Whiligh, 1636." Earl of Ancaster's MSS. communicated to me by Mr. W. C. Alexander, from the "Sussex Archaeologia."

² "Il fit juger et condamner au feu le Curé de St. Pierre de Loudun, Urbain Grandier, bel homme et avantageux, dont les succès inquiétaient les maris, et fussent même pour troubler dans leur retraite les pauvres Ursulines" (Mariéjol, "Hist. de France," vi, 2, 369).

³ See Mariéjol, "Hist. de France," vi, 330.



Photo.

[J. Robuchon]

RICHELIEU: THE TOWN GATE AND PRINCIPAL STREET (P. 85)

(LEMERCIER, ARCHITECT)



Photo.

[Mon. Hist.]

BROUAGE, CHARENTE INF. WEST SIDE (P. 86)

was being silted up; moreover, the Prince de Condé had seriously injured it in 1586 by sinking a number of barges filled with stones in the mouth of the harbour. But it was the most convenient base of operations for the siege of La Rochelle (1627-8), and Richelieu determined to make it the chief ocean port of France. He cleared the harbour and fortified the town with massive stone-faced ramparts, covering very solid earthworks on the inner sides. There are only two entrances, both elaborately protected; one from the road from Soubise and Rochefort, the other from Varennes. These entrances do not enter the town at right angles, but are placed at the sides of bastions, so that from a distance they are not visible. On the south (the Varennes) side, there are remains of a detached fort screening the entrance. Large bastions project from the sides, and the general plan anticipates Vauban's system of enfilading forts. The general internal dimensions of the town are about 450 yards long by 400 yards wide. A straight street runs down the centre with cross roads at right angles, as at Richelieu. The fortifications are very massive. At the south-west corner the earthwork is about 50 ft. thick, with masonry measuring at the top of the wall 8 ft. thick, and the stonework to an embrasure, near the north entrance, is 18 ft. thick. All the walls, some 20 ft. high, are in dressed stone up to the big torus moulding at the platform level; above this the parapet wall is in brick and stone. The Cardinal's hat is carved on the inside of the north entrance; and there are scutcheons of arms, now defaced, on the walls. Richelieu meant to make his fort impregnable, and his walls are still almost perfect, but even Richelieu was sometimes blind. His harbour never succeeded. The town, said once to have held a population of four thousand people has now but a handful of inhabitants. All that is left inside the walls is the church, a few houses of no interest on either side of the central street, and the Arsenal. The rest is grass and neglected gardens, with fragments of the ashlar work of once important houses left where they lie. It is a place, too, of melancholy memories. Most of the priests who were interned here in 1793 died of malaria, and the place is left forgotten and abandoned, the "Aigues Mortes," as it has been called, of the Saintonge.

It is not known whether Lemer cier was the architect and engineer.¹ Such details as there are on the north entrance are the work of a com-

¹ The fortifications are attributed to D'Argencourt. The church (closed when I visited Brouage in the autumn of 1909) has a good western doorway dated 1608, with engaged Corinthian pilasters, entablatures, and a broken pediment over a semicircular arch. The windows have tracery without cusping.

petent hand, and the cartouche over the north-west entrance resembles the doorway of the Mairie of Soubise, about five miles off on the road to Rochefort; but there is nothing to identify the work with Lemer cier. On the other hand, he is known to have been employed by Richelieu as an engineer. In 1631 he received an order to design and superintend the construction of new fortifications with a new canal to surround Paris, "pour la beauté, commodité et embellissement d'icelle,"¹ and the presumption is that he was also employed at Brouage. Ruined and deserted as it is, Brouage is scarcely less suggestive than Richelieu itself of the magnificent ideas of the Cardinal, and of a habit of mind, long since lost, which regarded all building as within the scope and province of architecture.

Lemer cier, who had begun his career in the King's service at the Louvre, and is first mentioned in 1618, was instructed by Richelieu in 1624 to prepare a design for the completion of the palace.² So far, attention had been concentrated on the galleries connecting the Tuileries and the Louvre, and little, if anything, had been done to the court of the Louvre proper since the days of Lescot, that is to say, all that was completed was the building from the Pavillon de l'Horloge to the south-west angle near the Petite Galerie, and part of the return eastward along the south or river front. The north and east sides of the old court of the Louvre were still standing,³ absolutely blocking the completion of the palace. Lemer cier prepared a scheme for doubling Lescot's design along the west side northwards, and for returning it along the north side on the lines of the present plan, providing a courtyard four times the size of that proposed in Lescot's design, and actually more or less identical with the plan afterwards carried out.⁴ He pulled down the north wing of the old Louvre,

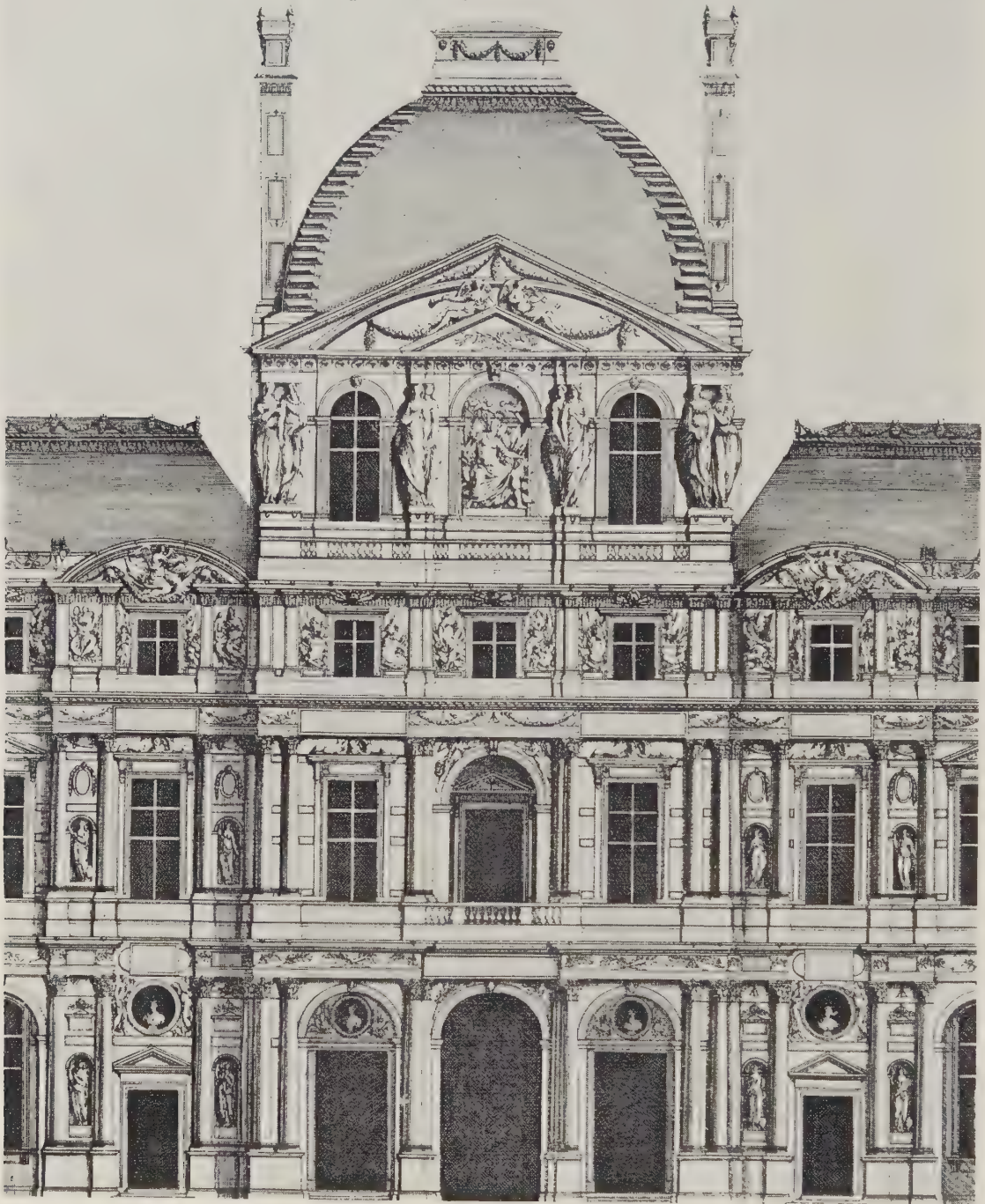
¹ Desjardins, "Hôtel de Ville de Lyons," 5.

² It should be noted that Salomon de Brosse, Clément Metezeau, Paul de Brosse, and Jean Androuet du Cerceau, appear in the accounts for the Louvre and other royal buildings in 1624, and that Lemer cier, who is merely called "autre architecte," was still only receiving 1,200 livres a year, whereas De Brosse and Clément Metezeau were each receiving 2,400 "attendu son mérite et la service qu'il rend a sa dict Majesté" (Berty, ii, 218). Their relations with Lemer cier are perplexing, but the designs of the new buildings at the Louvre have always been attributed to Lemer cier, and as I have already pointed out, Lemer cier succeeded Metezeau at S. Roch. It seems certain that the "architectes du Roi" were not always appointed or paid for services in architecture.

³ Berty, "Topographie Hist. du vieux Paris," i, 131. The north wing was demolished by Lemer cier after 1629, the east wing by Levau about 1660. See Berty's plan of the old Louvre as restored, i, 228, 229. It practically occupied the south-west quarter of the total area of the present courtyard.

⁴ Berty, i, 151.

Elevation du grand Degré de la façade de l'Oratoire de M. Lemercier



[Marot

LEMERCIER'S ADDITIONS TO THE LOUVRE (P. 89)

including the staircase built by Raymond du Temple under Charles V, and started his work immediately to the north of Henri II's staircase with what is now known as the Pavillon de l'Horloge. Louis XIII laid the foundation-stone of the new Louvre on 28th June 1624, and 120,000 livres were expended that year on the new building.¹ Lemer cier adhered strictly to Lescot's design for the two lower storeys and the attic, merely doubling the columns at the ends of his new pavilion, and altering the spacing of the bays. Above Lescot's attic he added a high blocking course and a short balustrade, and above this an upper storey in three bays, with semicircular headed openings, and enormous caryatides supporting an entablature, with no less than three pediments, a small segmental one over the centre bay, a larger segmental one above this extending to the outer caryatides, and lastly a triangular pediment covering in the lot. Above this is a curved quadrangular pavilion roof with elaborate leadwork at the top. The design of this pavilion, "d'une pesanteur énorme,"² is about the worst thing that Lemer cier ever did. I have pointed out, in a previous chapter, the discrepancy in scale between Ponce's reliefs in the attic storey and the detail below it, but Lemer cier made this worse by doubling the scale again. His new top storey hopelessly overpowers the original design. The caryatides, carved by Jacques Sarrazin, fine as they are in themselves, are nearly double the size even of Ponce's figures,³ and they stand insecurely on quite inadequate pedestals. The triple pediment is an absurd multiplication of detail, Blondel calls it "une bizarrerie qui n'a point d'exemple," and the repeated returns of the cornice throw away the one chance that the designer had left of bringing his composition together. The three arches of the lower storey are monotonous and crowd unpleasantly up on to the soffit of the entablature, and in widening his bays Lemer cier missed the well-considered proportions of Lescot's design. Having ruined his original, Lemer cier seems to have had some feelings of compunction, for in the continuation northward he fell back on the original design without alteration. Blondel's reproach that most of the royal palaces of France were failures owing to want of unity of architectural conception has a most unfortunate justification in the Louvre. His criticisms of the court of the Louvre are more than usually outspoken. The details, he says, are mere fragments from the antique,

¹ Berty, ii, 216.

² Blondel, iv, 66.

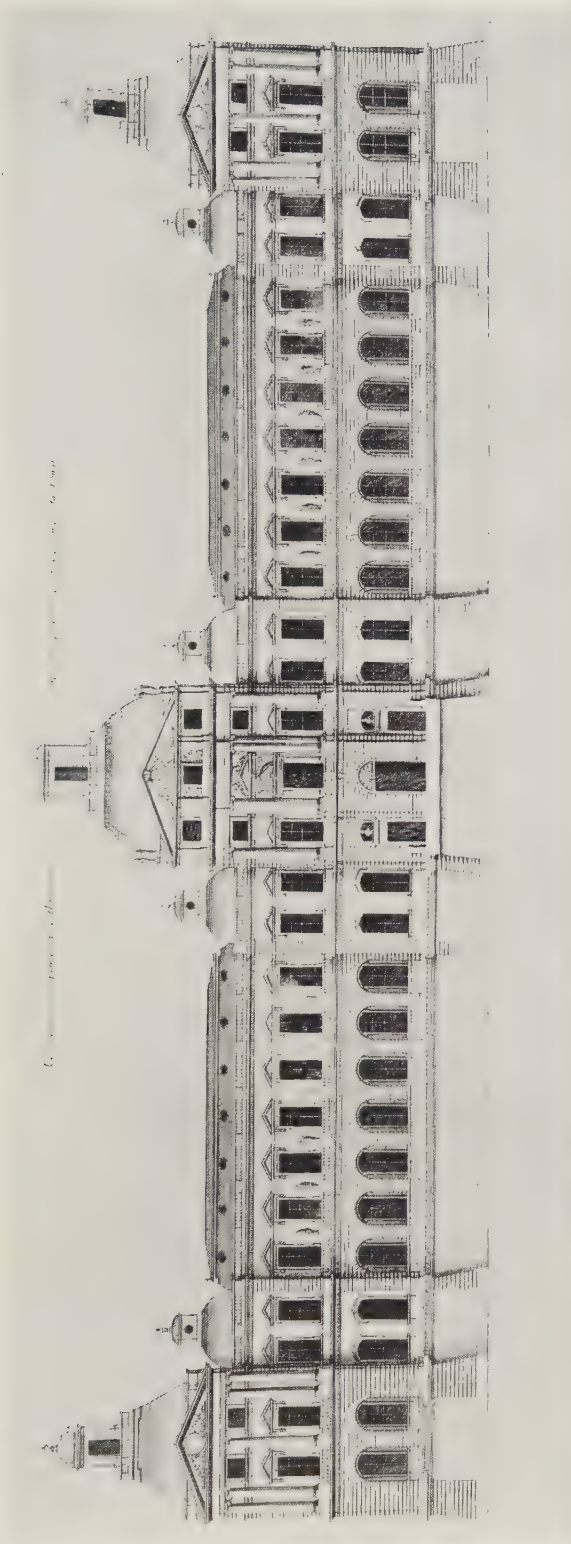
³ They are quite two-and-a-half times the height of the figures afterwards put in the niches, which are, of course, far too small for their place.

the ornament most tedious in its repetition of fames, crescents, H's with crowns, and "cockle-shells," all of which, he says, only show the ridiculous ostentation of the artists engaged on this building. An architect, he says, should work for posterity, and posterity will have no place for all these puerilities. It appears that Lemer cier's intention was to repeat this general design on the north and east and the uncompleted part of the south side of the court, and he also prepared a design for the principal façade of the Louvre facing St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which was engraved by Marot, and reproduced in Blondel's "*Architecture Française*." The design was symmetrical with pavilions at the ends covered by steep-pitched slate roofs with cupolas, and a very large central pavilion with the Ionic order in the upper floor supporting an entablature, and an attic storey with a pediment, the whole surmounted by a curved quadrangular roof, with a balustrade at the top and a lofty cupola. It is rather a dull design, and the outline of the roofs¹ is too much broken up, but its great scale might have justified it in execution.

Meanwhile Lemer cier had designed a scheme of decoration for the Grand Gallery, and in 1640 Nicolas Poussin, unwillingly dragged from Rome, was called in to carry out the painting. It was a most unfortunate combination. Poussin, an admirable painter and a man of impetuous genius, was unequally yoked with the able and methodical architect. Lemer cier, says Félibien,² had arranged in the vault of the gallery a number of compartments for painting, with "borders and ornaments in his manner, that is to say, ponderous and massive. For although he had the qualities of a very good architect, he did not possess all those that are necessary for the beauty and enrichment of interiors." Poussin insisted on the total alteration of Lemer cier's designs. Lemer cier complained, and the painters of the court, jealous of Poussin's reputation, joined Lemer cier in attacking all that Poussin was doing at the Louvre. They also condemned the altar-piece that he had painted for the Church of the Novitiate of the Jesuits, asserting that the figure of Christ resembled that of a Jupiter Tonans. Poussin replied in an indignant letter to Desnoyers that the criticisms were merely the result of malice and ignorance, and that as for Lemer cier, everybody could see for themselves that his work was bad, "full of

¹ The roofs of the buildings connecting the end with the centre pavilion are shown as Mansard roofs. François Mansart is always supposed to have invented this sort of roof, but it was also used by Lemer cier.

² "*Entretiens sur les Vies des Peintres et des Architectes*," viii, 38-50, ed. 1735.



[Marot

LEMPIERCIER'S DESIGN FOR THE ENTRANCE FRONT OF THE LOUVRE (p. 90)

faults and monstrosities, such as the heaviness which seemed tumbling down, the extreme coldness of the composition, the melancholy, dry and poverty-stricken aspect of all the parts, the combination of impossible details, and bad proportion, in short an entire absence of unity and logical sequence."¹ The architect had not even got his sides equal, there being four consoles on one side and five on the other. There are, Poussin continued, two ways of looking at things. There is the mere passive observation of what is seen, and there is also the process of reasoning on what is seen, and applying to it considerations based on the eye, the visual ray, and the distance from the eye to the object. On these grounds Poussin justifies the scale of what he had done in the gallery, and asserts that it was owing to the gross ignorance of others (*viz.*, the architect) in these matters that the buildings seemed to be crushed under their own weight, instead of seeming to be "*egayez, sveltes et légères, et paroître se porter facilement, comme la nature et la raison enseignent à les faire.*" Had he, for example, made his paintings larger, they would have detached themselves from the gallery, and broken up "*la douce suite des autres ornements.*" Poussin took the war into his enemy's camp with a vengeance; here was he, a painter, attacking the architect in his own peculiar province of scale and proportion. No record remains of Lemer cier's reply, but Poussin was so disgusted with his treatment that he left Paris for Rome in the September following, and never returned to France. In his letter to Desnoyers he had said that he would willingly make way for others more capable than himself, adding, with bitterness, that he at least would have the pleasure of having caused the discovery of capable men in France whose existence as yet no one suspected.

In 1646 Lemer cier gave a design for the Town Hall of Lyons, in competition with the famous mathematician Desargues, but the work was carried out by Simon Maupin, surveyor to the town, whether from his own design or from that of Desargues, is unknown. About this time Lemer cier was called in to supersede Mansart in the superintendence of the works at the Val de Grâce.² Mansart's design, however,

¹ "L'on n'y trouvait ni liaison ni suite."

² Bauchal ("*Dict.*" *s.v.* Lemer cier) says that Lemer cier succeeded Mansart in 1633, but the church was not begun till 1645, when Louis XIV laid the foundation-stone. Bauchal also says Lemer cier designed the Hôtels de Longueville, Liancourt, et Colbert, at Paris, but in Marot's plates Metezeau is given as the designer of the Hôtel de Longueville, and Levau as the designer of the Hôtel Colbert in the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs. These are in the Grand Marot. In the Petit Marot there are three plates of the Hôtel de Liancourt, a large and well-designed house rather in the manner of Le Muet.

was still followed. Lemer cier superintended the construction up to the first entablature, and it is characteristic of his loyalty that he adhered faithfully to the original design, and took especial care in its execution. Blondel says that the work done under Lemer cier was far superior in execution to that done under Le Muet and Le Duc, who succeeded him. Lemer cier died at Paris in June 1654. For the last twenty years of his life he had been the leading architect of France, the right hand man of Richelieu in his building enterprises, and the official architect of the court, preferred eventually to a greater artist, François Mansart. Lemer cier was not a man of genius, but he was a man of strict honour. In a generation of thieves, it was said of him as a rare thing that he never took bribes from contractors, and even declined a service of silver plate; he is known to have died a poor man in spite of his constant employment, and his library had to be sold to pay his debts. He was good to his men, and Sauval says¹ that he never falsified accounts, or pulled down anything that he had built, "*défauts assez ordinaire de nos meilleurs architectes, aussi ont-ils moins de vertu, et plus de bien qu'il n'avoit*," a fairly obvious thrust at François Mansart, who pulled down part of Maisons, and left his nephew a reasonable fortune. Sauval's appreciation of Lemer cier is suggestive. He was, he says, rather slow and heavy, but on the other hand he had foresight and sagacity. He was profound and solid, "in a word, the first architect of our time, and if not the Vitruvius of his age, at any rate the Palladio." Except for the last quite meaningless remark, this criticism was a sound judgement, but Sauval, in his just admiration for Lemer cier's integrity, overlooked the genius of François Mansart. That Lemer cier was an able and honourable architect, and that he perfectly knew his business within certain limits, there can be no doubt on the evidence of what still remains of his work, but that work also shows only too clearly that he was slow of imagination, a man of rule and method, rarely touched by the fiery inspiration of the artist.

¹ Sauval, i, 330.



Photo.]

[Mon. Hist.

CHAMBRAY: EURE (P. 94)



Photo.]

[Mon. Hist.

LISIEUX: THE "ANCIEN ÉVÊCHÉ" (P. 94)



[R. B. del.]

HÔTEL LIMUR: VANNES (P. 95)

CHAPTER XVII

PIERRE LE MUET

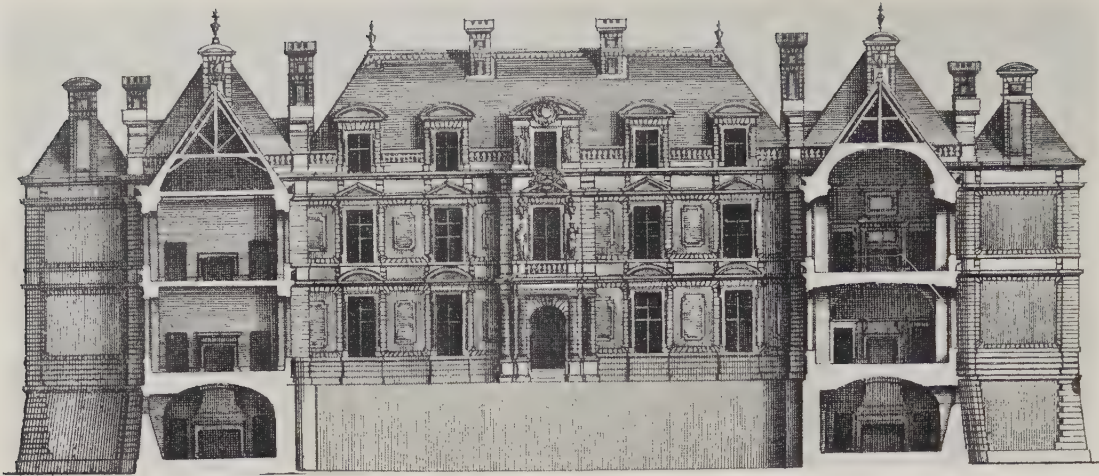
LEMERCIER had from the first adopted the strict neo-classic manner as then understood. He adhered, with characteristic sobriety of manner, to the regulation orders and their concomitants, combining them with quoins and rustications, but seldom practising in that provincial architecture of brick and stone which made its first appearance in the reign of Henri IV. Brick and stone had of course been freely used in domestic architecture before that date, as at Maintenon, Martainville, Gonfreville l'Orcher, the gateway at Carrouge, and many other places in Normandy and in the north west of France. But in the reign of Henri IV, side by side with designs which were limited to various combinations of the orders, a manner of building came into use which dispensed with the orders (except for special features such as doorways) and relied for its effect on walls of brick with stone quoins at the angles and round the window openings, plain bands of stone, simple mouldings, and a very sparing use of ornament. Often excellent in proportion, these façades of brick and stone, with their sturdy chimneys and lucarne windows set against a great gray background of slates, are among the most attractive buildings of the earlier half of the seventeenth century in France. Their resolute common sense and directness of purpose suggest the strong men who came in with Henri of Navarre, men who had forgotten the Italianisms of the last century and not yet learned the latest fashion from Rome.

For this manner in architecture was, in the main, provincial. Henri introduced it, and even insisted on it, in Paris, in the Place Dauphine and the Place Royale (Place des Vosges), and during his lifetime and for some little time afterwards it continued in use in Paris; but Le Muet was the only considerable architect who never wholly lost sight of it in his design, and after De Brosse and Lemercier had altered the direction of architecture in Paris this rustic manner, as it has been called, was driven back to the provinces. The Place Royale, disfigured as it is by plaster treated as brickwork, still gives an excellent idea of the effect of this use of brick and stone. Flat pilasters separate

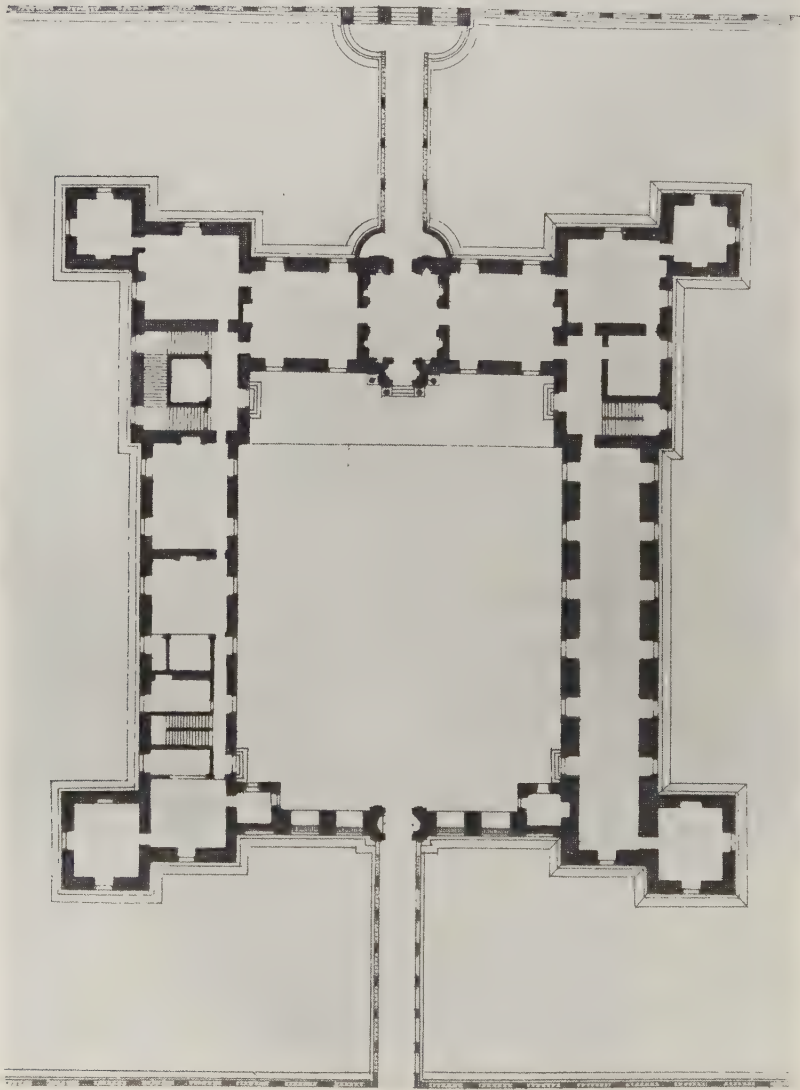
the arches of the ground floor arcade, but the two upper storeys have vertical strips of long and short quoins between the bays, simple architraves and key-blocks to the windows, with stone dormers rising above the cornice. In the courtyard at the back of the Hôtel de Châlon, Luxembourg,¹ there remains a small but very perfect example, a pavilion in five bays of two storeys with stone dormers in the roof. In this case the architraves to the windows are mere flat bands, but the key-blocks have well-carved masks. The upper windows have cornices above which are well carved panels forming aprons to the dormers. Stone panels slightly raised are placed in the brick walls between the windows. The designer has got his effect by proportion and the very careful consideration of the relation of the reliefs in the various features. Other examples in Paris are the entrance to the Hôtel Almeras (30, Rue des Francs Bourgeois) and the Palais Mazarin, now forming part of the Bibliothèque Nationale at the angle of the Rue des Petits Champs and the Rue Vivienne. In the provinces there is an excellent façade in this manner in the courtyard of the Château de Chambray (Eure). There are other examples at Coucy le Château (the Governor's house), the ruins of the Château de Sorel (Eure), the building now used as a museum at Auxerre, the Château de la Morinière, the town hall at Chartres, the old Evêché at Lisieux, the south-west front of the Château of Carrouge (Oise), the sides of the choir of the chapel at Eu, Daubeuf, Cany, Montgomery-Ducey near Avranches, a beautiful little manor-house at Osmoy near Bures (Seine Inférieure), and many others in Normandy. Balleroy in Calvados, an early work of François Mansart, is an example in dressed stone with coursed rubble walling in thin courses instead of the usual brick; Lentheuil near Caen, and the great house of Ménars,² near

¹ Rue Geoffroy L'Asnier, Paris.

² Ménars is a perplexing house. In 1635 Guillaume Charron, treasurer-general, bought the property and built a house here. But according to M. Bournon ("Blois, Chambord, et les Châteaux du Blesois," 129) this is not the present building, which he says was built by Marigny, the brother of Mme. de Pompadour, well known as the "Surintendant des bâtiments du Roi." M. Bournon suggests that Soufflot, a friend of Marigny, was the architect. If he was, he must have repeated the original design, for the exterior of the present house at Menars is seventeenth century in manner, and is very much what Le Muet would have done had he been the architect. Félibien says that Charron's building consisted of a "corps de logis et 2 pavillons," and that his nephew, who succeeded him and became a viscount and finally a marquis, added two more "corps de logis" and the orangery. The existing building tallies with Félibien's description, and it would be interesting to know on what authority M. Bournon assigns the whole to the eighteenth century. That Marigny filled it with works of art and re-decorated the house is known, but it is difficult to believe that the exterior of the house dates from the eighteenth century. The avenue to the left of the house, facing the river,



PONTZ: SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

CHÂTEAU: PONTZ (P. 97)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

Blois, reproduce the manner with rough-cast or harling on the walls instead of brickwork, a practice frequently followed in the seventeenth century, and of which examples exist at Assigny and Grotteaux (Berry), Vierzon (Cher), Monts-sur-Suresnes, near Loudun, the Hotel de Limier at Vannes, and the hospital at Valognes. Other excellent examples are to be found in the Bourbonnais. In the delightful old town of Moulins and its neighbourhood there are a large number of buildings, dating from the early part of the seventeenth century, in which great play is made by diapers of dark bricks on red, and *vice-versa*, for the plain wall-surfaces, with stone dressings unmoulded for quoins, doors, and window openings. The old Jesuit College (now the Palais de Justice), 1656, the sides of the Montmorency Chapel, 1648, and the older parts of the Hôpital Général, all in the Rue de Paris at Moulins, are fine examples. The bricks, which are very hard, vary in colour, from a full red to a very dark purple brown, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. They are all set as headers with mortar joints 1 in. thick almost flush; and the diapers are formed with double lines, instead of the single line more common in England. The texture of the wall surface so given, and the rich but subdued harmony obtained by the bricks and the warm-coloured stonework, produce about as satisfactory a wall, so far as colour and texture go, as it is possible to get, and much of the charm of this provincial work is due to the skilful use of modest materials. With much that was admirable in its architecture, and in spite of its great intellectual advance, the classical movement of the seventeenth century suffered from the defect of immense self-consciousness, it could not resist the temptation to attitudinize, and it deliberately turned its back on this art of materials, as unworthy of the dignity of "the Grand Manner."

Except in the remoter provinces this Henri IV manner had gone out of fashion by the middle of the seventeenth century. Sauval in his ingenuous manner remarks: "La rougeur de la brique, la blancheur de la pierre, et la noirceur de l'ardoise, faisaient une nuance de couleur si agréable en ce tems-là, qu'on s'en servoit dans tous les grands Palais, et l'on ne s'est avisé que cette variété les rendoit semblables à des Châteaux de carte, que depuis que les maisons bourgeoises ont été bâties de cette manière."¹ Fashion had declared against it and its day was over, but when Le Muet published the first edition of his "Manière

is referred to in Félibien's account (André Félibien, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Maisons Royales," etc., 66, 67).

¹ "Hist. et Antiquités de la Ville de Paris," ii, 201.

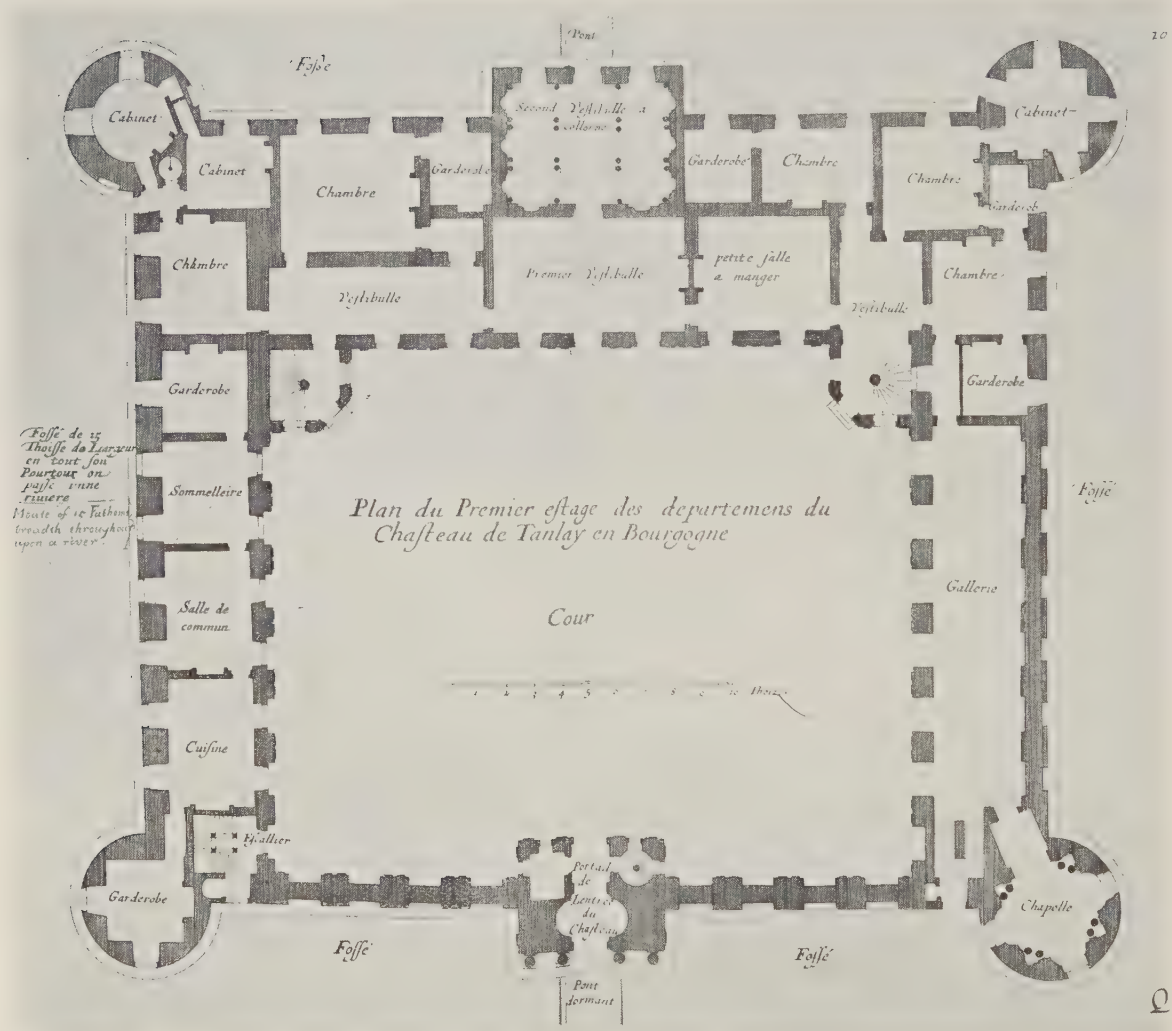
de bien bastir," in 1623, it was still popular, it was adopted in nearly all Le Muet's plates in the first edition, and Le Muet himself, though he gradually fell into line with his contemporaries, never entirely lost sight of this favourite manner of his youth.

Pierre Le Muet is said by D'Argenville to have been born at Dijon in 1591, and to have been first heard of as preparing a model of the Luxembourg in 1616. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this date with the entry in the accounts of the Louvre for the year 1618, already quoted,¹ in which he is described as "a young lad" in receipt of 600 livres a year for models for Marie de Médicis. D'Argenville was probably mistaken in the date of his birth.² Le Muet's name occurs again in 1624 for the same work with the same salary. As at this period he was working in a subordinate position under the royal architects and superintendents, he found it necessary to do something to raise himself out of the ruck, and this probably accounts for the publication of his book in 1623, as a manual of town house architecture for all intending builders. On the title-page he describes himself as "architecte ordinaire du Roy, et Conducteur des desseins des fortifications de sa Majesté," in other words he was a Government draughtsman.

Le Muet began with the simplest form of house with a single room in the front, and proceeded from this, by gradual stages, to more considerable houses with a courtyard in front and gardens at the back; but curiously enough, late in the first part of his book occurs a design and description of a half-timbered house with a projecting gable, shaped as a pointed arch, exactly similar to many examples still to be found in the streets of the old town of Vannes. In 1642 he brought out a treatise on the Five Orders of Vignola, and in 1645 a second treatise on the Five Orders, translated from Palladio. Two years later (1647) a second edition of his book on buildings appeared, in which Le Muet describes himself as "architecte ordinaire du Roi et constructeur des fortifications en la Province de Picardie." This edition has a second part, containing Le Muet's own designs for various houses, Pontz in Champagne, Tanlay in Burgundy, Chavigny in Touraine, the house of President

¹ "A Pierre Le Muet, jeune garçon, retenu par Sa Majesté pour travailler en modèles et élévations de maisons, selon l'ordre et direction qu'enforce le Sr. de Fourcey, intendant des bastiments de sa dicte Majesté." Berty, "Top. Hist. de la Ville de Paris," ii, 209.

² D'Argenville, "Vies, etc.," i, 335, who gives this date, says his father was "garde-provincial" of the artillery of Burgundy. He says that Le Muet died in 1669 at the age of seventy-eight. Blondel, "Architecture Française," iii, 255, says he died in 1680. His name occurs in the Comptes, January 1669, as receiving three-quarters of his salary of 1,000 francs, Leveau in the same account receiving 6,000 francs.



TANLAY: SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN (PP. 97-100)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

Tubœuf, Rue des Petits Champs, a house in the Rue Vivien, and the Hôtel d'Avaux in Paris.

Pontz was a large house, with a rectangular court 120 ft. by 96 ft., a screen wall ran along the entrance front, set back slightly from the ends of the two wings on either side of the court. These wings were in two storeys on the side to the court, and the roofs were kept lower than those of the main block opposite the entrance. At the four external angles were pavilions, 30 ft. square in plan, engaged on the inner side only. The principal staircase was to the left, on entering the main block. A subordinate staircase is shown on the right and another service stair on the left hand wing. The rooms are shown *en suite*, without any attempt to provide separate communications, and the roofs do not run through with continuous ridges, but are still treated separately as so many pavilions, a survival of the sixteenth century.¹ Chavigny in Touraine followed the same general arrangement as Pontz, but the court was larger, 126 by 155, and it had a moat 90 ft. wide as at Tanlay. Both these houses are now destroyed.

Tanlay in Burgundy is probably the most charming country house in France. Architecturally it has faults, and eccentricities, but its courts and vast dependencies, its canal with the water temple or Château d'Eau at the end of the long lines of limes, its broad moat of clear running water, render it irresistibly attractive. It has also the supreme merit of not having been restored. A long avenue, stretching back into illimitable distance, leads past the church, through the little village, to the fine iron gates and railings that enclose the entrance court. On the further side is the Petit Château, built by Jacques Chabot, Marquis de Mirebeau in 1610. Beyond the Petit Château is the green court, surrounded on three sides by a high wall adorned with thirty-eight arches of the Tuscan order and gateways leading to the park on the further side, and to the immense base-court on the right. The left side of the green court overlooks the moat, which is crossed by a bridge of three arches leading to a detached entrance pavilion in the centre of the side of the Court of Honour next the moat. A simple balustrade has replaced the screen wall which once connected this pavilion with the wings of the house running out from the main block on either side of the court. Few, if any, houses in France convey so fully the impression of the Grand Seigneur. The careful segregation from the village that lies humbly at its gates, the spaciousness of the whole conception of its plan,

¹ In Le Muet's engravings the house is shown as built of brick with stone dressings. A plan and section of Pontz are given in "Le Petit Marot."

the disregard of merely utilitarian considerations, speak eloquently of the temperament of a bygone age, when the great nobleman considered the world made for his personal gratification, yet, given that condition, was prepared to make large sacrifices in the effort to realize his ideals. Tanlay, too, has memorable historical associations. It has been a great house from time immemorial. The Courtenays, lords of Auxerre, had a castle here in the thirteenth century. Three hundred years later it passed into the hands of Louise de Montmorency, sister of the Constable, and wife of Gaspard de Coligny, father of the three famous brothers, the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, the Admiral, and François d'Andelot, Colonel-General of the Infantry of France. It was the latter who inherited the property in 1559, and who began the present house on the site of the Courtenays' castle, following the lines so closely that he adhered to the unequal angles of the court, and preserved the circular towers of the outer angles. D'Andelot's work was stopped by the wars of the Huguenots, and when he died in 1560,¹ scarcely a quarter of the present house was completed, namely the part from the left hand tower known as the Tower of the Ligue,² up to the vestibule in the centre of the façade facing the park, with less than half of the left-hand wing. Nothing further was done in the sixteenth century. The property descended to D'Andelot's daughter, who married Jacques Chabot, Marquis de Mirebeau, and it was Chabot who, about the year 1610, built the strange building known as the Petit Château, which now acts as a gate-house between the outer court and the green court. It is a considerable building, measuring on plan eighty feet by thirty-six,³ and is chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary rustication of the entrance front, "conçue," says Sauvageot, "dans un esprit de rusticité outré et brutal." Curiously enough, the façade on the opposite side, with its lofty plinth and plain pilasters, is relatively quiet and refined, and architecturally equal to the later work by Le Muet. It appears from the unfinished masonry on this side that Chabot intended to carry on the design, and the building probably represents not merely a gate-house, but the first instalment of some great scheme, now lost, for an entire new building round what is now the green court. Chabot

¹ Poisoned, it is said, by Catherine de Médicis before Saintes.

² Sauvageot, who has illustrated Tanlay fully in his "*Palais, Châteaux, Hôtels, et Maisons*," vol. i, points out that the name Tower of the Ligue is a complete misnomer, as the Ligue was a Catholic association, not Protestant, and was not started till 1574, when all the three Coligny brothers were dead. The well-known paintings in the upper rooms are probably fifty years later than the last of the Colignys.

³ Sauvageot.



Tanlay, the Canal

Alfred Blomfield

[R. B. del.]

TANLAY: THE CHÂTEAU D'EAU (P. 99)

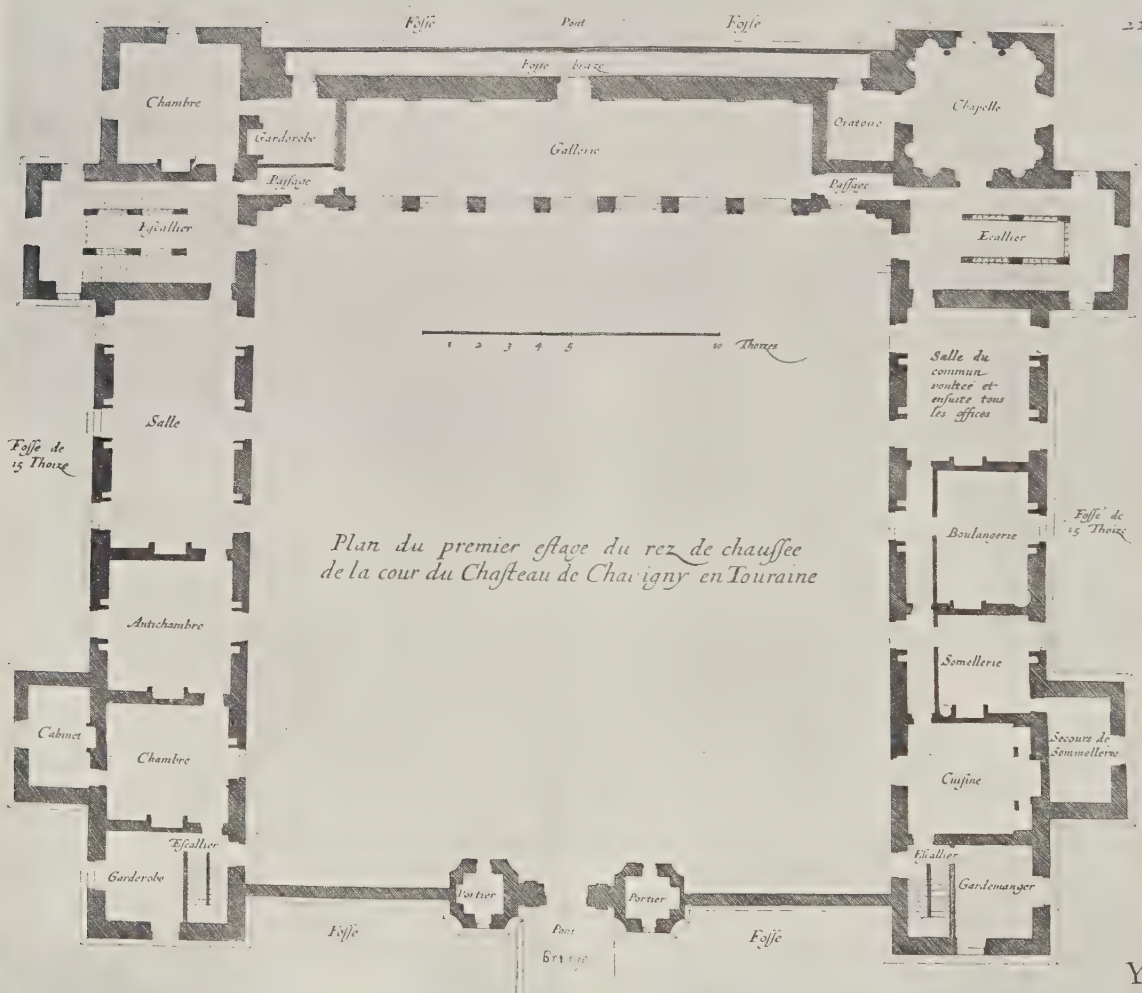


FACE DV COSTE DE LA COVR DV CHASTE AV DE CHAVIGNY EN TOURAINE

Front of the side to the Court of the Castle of Chavigny in Touraine

A.A

SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION



Plan du premier étage du rez de chaussée de la cour du Chateau de Chavigny en Touraine

GROUND PLAN

CHÂTEAU OF CHAVIGNY (P. 97)

(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

probably outran his resources, for though he left the property to his daughter, the latter and her husband, Claud Vignier, sold it in 1642 to Michel Particelli, Sieur d'Hemery, Surintendant des Finances. D'Hemery abandoned Chabot's scheme and appears to have called in Le Muet at once, to complete the building begun by François d'Andelot.

Le Muet proposed a scheme even more magnificent than that which he actually carried out,¹ but even curtailed as it was it cost the Surintendant 2,500,000 livres between 1642 and 1647.² He repeated the design of the part already built along the façades to the park and the court, with one-storey wings along the sides of the court, terminating with the tower of the Chapel on the right facing the house, and that of the Archives on the left. A screen wall with blind arcading and pilasters, now replaced by a balustrade, connected these towers with the entrance pavilion at the bridge. The court so enclosed measures 140 ft. by 106 ft. In all the work done to the exterior of the house Le Muet followed the old design with modifications in details, and the only original work was the entrance pavilion with its four engaged and rusticated columns in the front, and the two ugly obelisks on pedestals 6 ft. square at the entrance to the bridge. Inside he adopted the manner of his time: boldly designed mouldings and ornament with swags and cartouches, and the panelling of the salon is an excellent example of Louis XIII woodwork. Having completed the house, he built the walls round the three sides of the grass court, and beyond this the base-court, for stables and farm buildings, measuring some 300 ft. by 240 ft. He also designed the Château d'Eau, an imposing frontispiece of the Doric order, heavily rusticated, at the further end of the canal which is some 800 yds. long by 24 yds. wide. The trees leading up to it have got rather out of hand, but even as they are, the effect of the "perspective," as it is called at Tanlay, is admirable. D'Hemery may have been a rogue, but he knew what was worth trying for in a country house, and not the least attractive feature of Tanlay is the canal with its cascade of perfectly clear fresh water falling into the wide moat which surrounds the Château.³

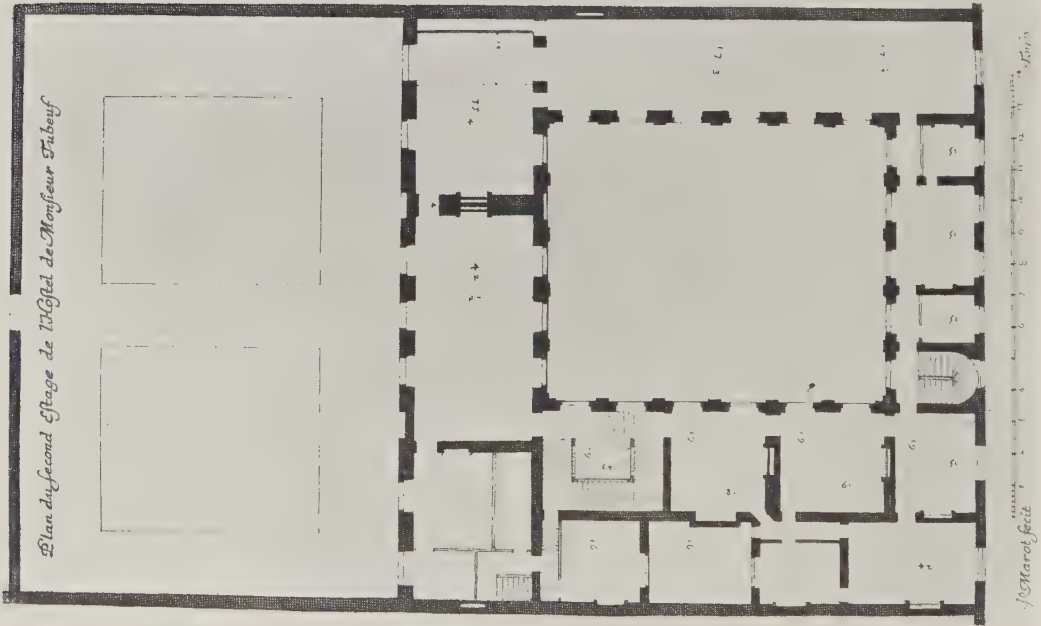
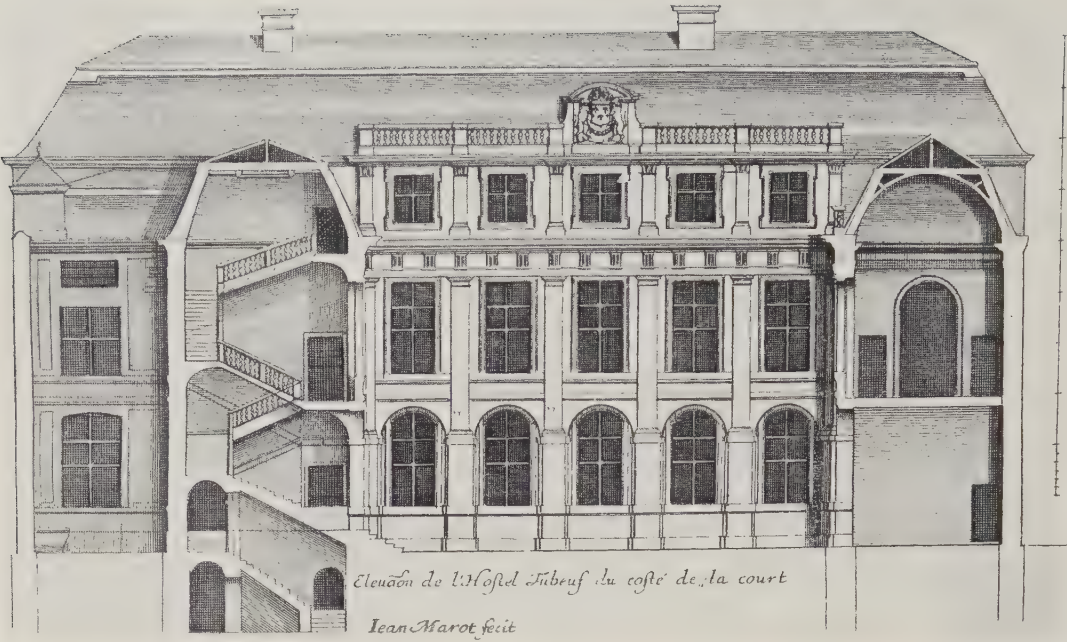
¹ This scheme is given in his book, where the side-wings are shown as carried up the full height of the centre block, repeating the design of the latter. As executed these wings are in one storey only.

² Estimated by Sauvageot to be equal to 15,000,000 francs.

³ The moat is figured as 90 ft. wide ("15 Toisse," *i.e.*, toises) in Le Muet's plate. Sauvageot gives the width as 22 metres. The measurements of the canal are taken from Le Muet's plan.

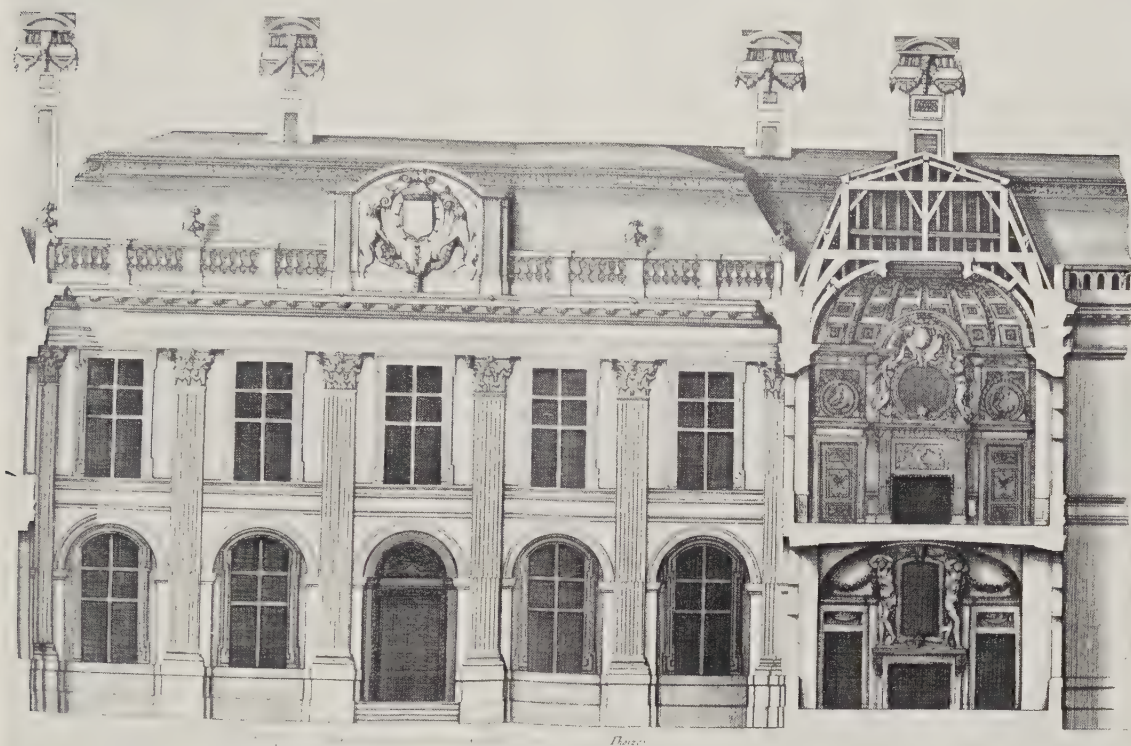
Tanlay was completed very shortly before Bussy Rabutin rebuilt the main block of his house at Bussy Rabutin, not far from Tanlay. The two wings of this house are good examples of François I work. Bussy made no attempt to follow this, but adopted a somewhat thin though not unpleasant design of engaged pilasters in pairs for the bays between the windows with niches and ovals between the pilasters, one order to each storey, with pediments to the windows of the upper storey. The influence of Ancy-le-Franc on both these houses is remarkable. Ancy-le-Franc lies between Bussy Rabutin and Tanlay in North-west Burgundy, some ten miles from Tanlay, and some twenty-five from Bussy Rabutin, and certainly influenced the designs of the later houses. The designs of the wings at Tanlay recall the façades to the court of Ancy-le-Franc, and the same motive was followed at Bussy Rabutin, but in a very much humbler fashion. The probability is that its owner, who was a brilliant but somewhat imprudent gentleman, not a financier like D'Hemery, had to content himself with a local man for his building, when he made his characteristic additions to this delightful little country house. The singular decorations that Bussy Rabutin designed for his house are later. The *Chambre des Devises* with its emblems and mottoes in several languages, and its bird's-eye views of famous houses, appears to have been carried out during his exile after 1650. The portraits of illustrious men and women, with vituperative inscriptions composed by himself, were painted after his release from the Bastille in 1666.¹ Bussy Rabutin and Le Muet's work at Tanlay are each in their way characteristic of French domestic architecture immediately before the outbreak of the Fronde. It is more interesting than the ponderous manner of De Brosse and Lemercier, but does not show as yet that mastery of technique, that larger architectural sense, evidence of which was already appearing in the work of François Mansart. Near Epinai, between Dijon and Autun, is the Château de Sully, said by Bussy Rabutin to possess the finest courtyard in France. The court, which is surrounded by buildings on all four sides, measures 133 ft. by 120 ft. Its façades have a rusticated and arcaded ground storey, above which are Ionic pilasters, supporting an entablature with somewhat unorthodox modillions. The steep slate roof rises immediately above the cornice without any balustrade or blocking course. The Château, which is not shown, is fully described and illustrated in Sauvageot, who says that the work was begun by Gaspard de Saulx, the famous Maréchal de Tavannes, in

¹ Bussy Rabutin, who was the author of the famous "*Histoire Amoureux des Gaules*," died in 1693. There is a full and excellent account of his house in Sauvageot, vol. i.

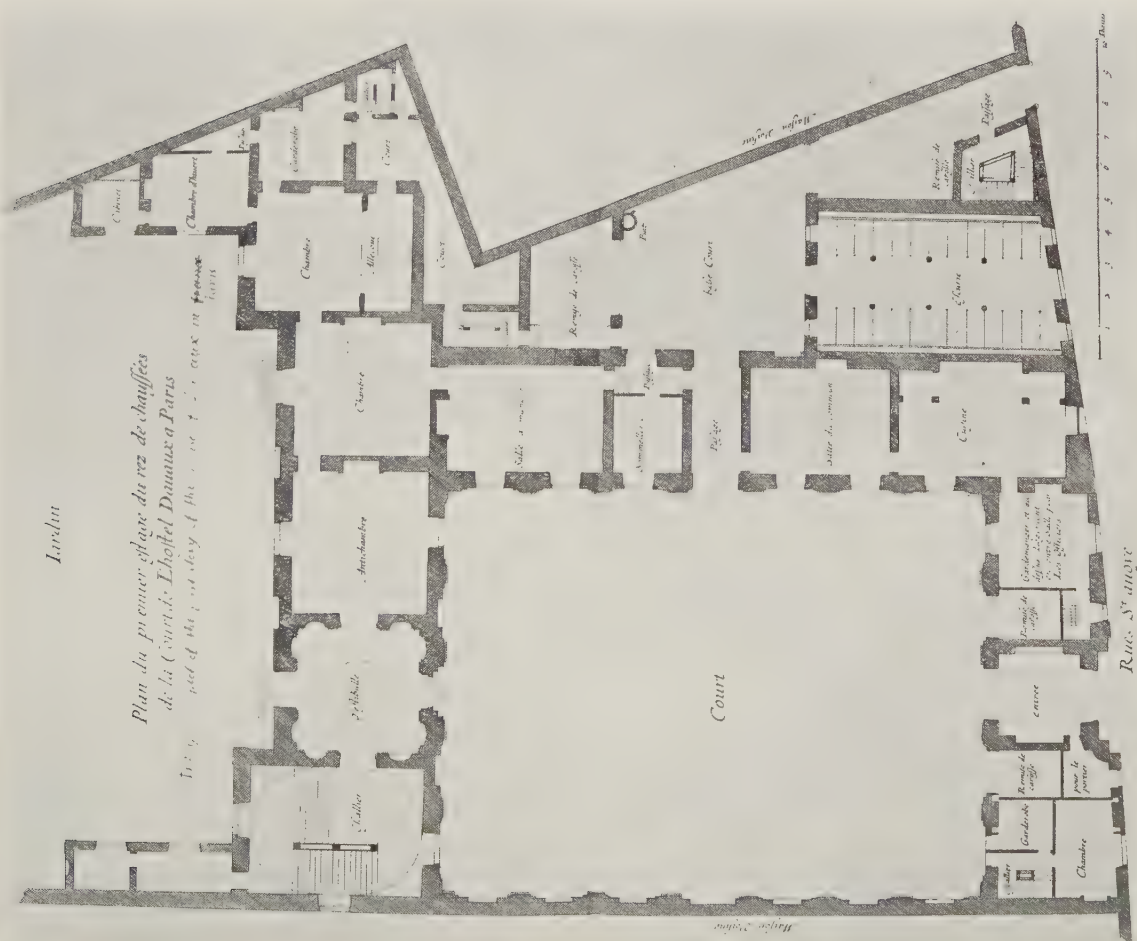


THE HÔTEL TUBŒUF: INTERNAL ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN (P. 101)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

FACE DV COSTE DE LA COVR^e DE L'HOTEL D'AVAYX A PARIS.



SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION



THE HÔTEL DAVAUX, PARIS (P. 101)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

1567, and that the work was completed in 1630. The property once belonged to the Bussy Rabutin family, but was sold by them to the De Saulx in 1528.

Besides the three great houses, Pontz, Chavigny, and Tanlay, Le Muet includes in his second edition three hotels in Paris, as having been completed before 1647. None of these houses now exists. The Hôtel Davaux in the Rue S. Avoye was a large house with an entrance through an archway into a courtyard bounded on the left by an adjoining house, and on the other two sides by the house buildings. The stables, base-court, and offices are rather ingeniously planned in an irregular space to the right. The gallery, chapel, and principal rooms were on the first floor. The façades to the court were remarkable for the use of a colossal Corinthian order¹ running through two storeys, instead of the orders above orders which Le Muet had used at Tanlay, and altogether the details of the house appear to have been very advanced for a building designed before 1647. Sauval says that its garden front was copied from the Louvre.² The house of the President Tubœuf (not to be confused with the Hôtel Mazarin, though also in the Rue Vivienne) is fully illustrated in the *Petit Marot*. An archway from the street led to the oblong court, 64 ft. by 54 ft. To the left were kitchen and offices, to the right stables and coach house, at the further end of the court a suite of three rooms, with the main staircase in the left hand corner. The centre block had three storeys, the other three sides of the court were carried up two storeys, the entrance block being built over, an unusual feature in plans of this date; and a gallery, 87 ft. by 17 ft. 4 in., running the full length of the stable wing. The exterior was plain even to baldness, and the only decoration that Le Muet allowed himself was an engaged order of Doric pilasters on very lofty pedestals in the façade opposite the main entrance. Sauval says that this house was most cleverly designed for a small site by Pierre Le Muet, "l'un des premiers architectes de notre tems," and that to all its magnificence within Le Muet had added "l'orgueil des dehors . . . avec beaucoup de l'art et de succès." Le Muet here for the first time built the chimneys in the thickness of the walls, instead of the immense stacks hitherto in use, and dispensed with the beams in use hitherto by using thicker joists closer together.³ As shown in the *Petit Marot*, the house could hardly have been an attractive building, but

¹ The south façade opposite the entrance of the Hôtel Lamoignon (Rue Pavée au Marais, Paris) has a similar order unfluted.

² Sauval, iii, 6 and 50.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 202-204.

Le Muet, who was a skilful planner, had made his reputation by his book and work in the country, and he was employed to build some important hotels in Paris, almost as it seems when the Fronde was in full swing, when Gondî was manipulating the populace of Paris, and the Duchesse de Chevreuse was amusing herself with a series of futile intrigues. The Hôtel Davaux, and the house for Tubœuf, the Hôtel de l'Aigle, Hôtel de Beauvilliers, Hôtel de Chevreuse or de Luynes, and the earlier part of the Palais Mazarin, appear to have been designed by Le Muet somewhere about this period.

The dates of these houses are uncertain. The Palais Mazarin (now "La Cour de l'Administration de la Bibliothèque Nationale") is probably the earliest, but its history is very obscure. Sauval¹ says that the Hôtel was begun by Charles Duret de Chèvre, Président des Comptes, added to by the President Tubœuf, and finally completed by Cardinal Mazarin, who added three galleries, a library, base-court, gardens, and buildings extending up to the Rue Richelieu, and covering the greater part of the ground between the Rue Vivienne, the Rue des Petits Champs, and the Rue Richelieu. Sauval does not mention any architect. Blondel was unable to discover who he was. D'Argenville makes no reference to the Palais Mazarin. Its design has been attributed to François Mansart as well as to Le Muet, and it seems very unlikely that if Le Muet had designed this important house before 1647 he would have omitted all mention of it in the third edition of his book, published in that year. According to Bauchal the house was begun in 1633. Considerable additions were made by the Cardinal between 1647 and 1649, when the palace with its contents was put up for sale. The Cardinal was very nearly ruined, in 1651 Tubœuf put in a claim on the building for the 680,000 livres still due to him from Mazarin, and in 1652 Parliament ordered the sale of the whole, but the King interposed from Poitiers, and during the delay the Cardinal recovered his position.

The Palais Mazarin, incomplete and greatly altered as it is, is the only one of the hotels mentioned above now left in Paris. It stands at the angle of the Rue Vivienne, and the Rue des Petits Champs, forming a three-sided court with a screen in front in brick and stone. The centre bay opposite the entrance projects slightly from the façade, and terminates in a segmental pediment enclosing a lofty window, with figures of War in the right-hand spandril and of Peace in the left, with arms and ships in the background. The quoins to

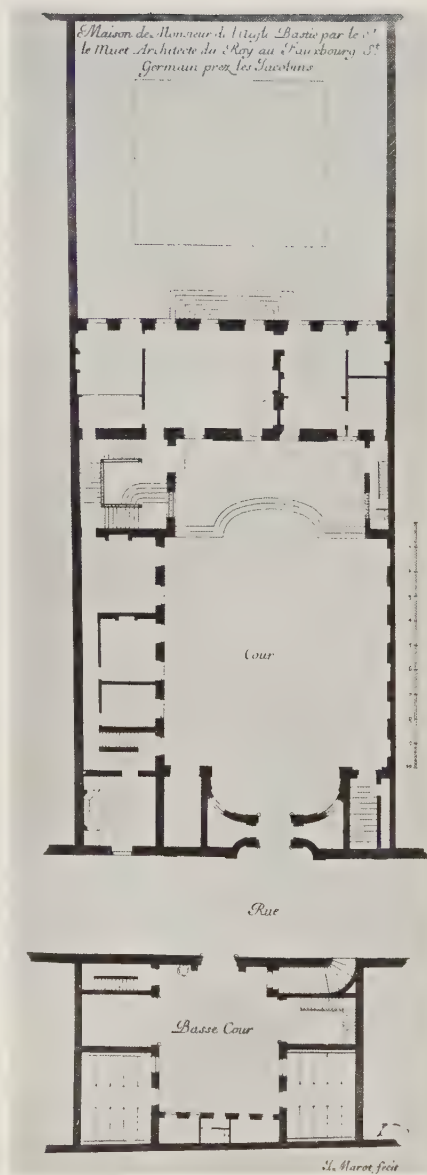
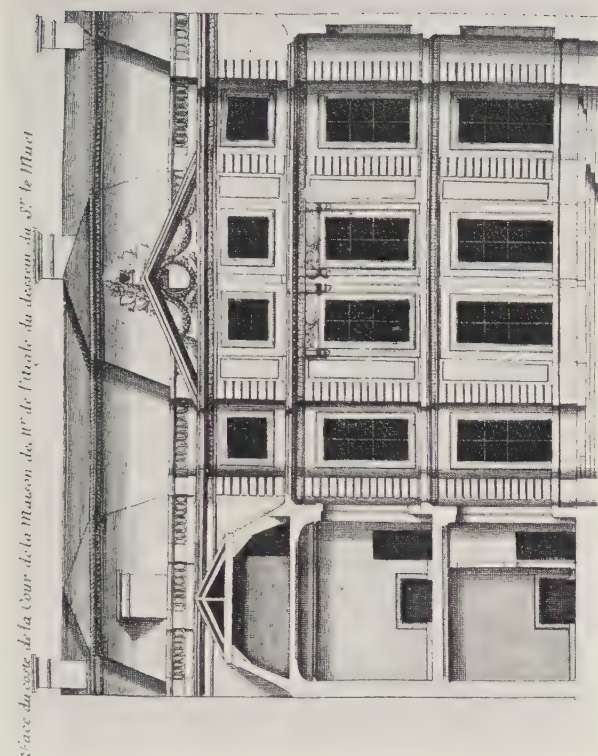
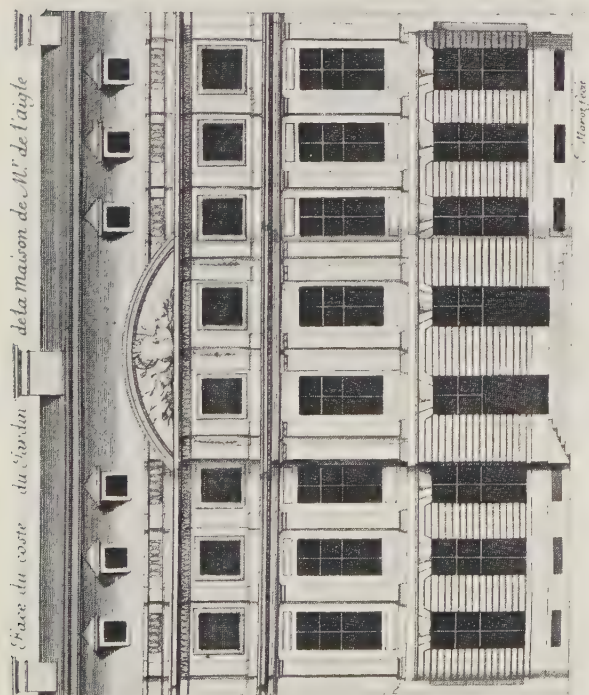
¹ Sauval, ii, 173. See also Piganiol de la Force, "Desc. de Paris," iii, 53.



Face du Palais Mazarin à Paris

PALAIS MAZARIN (P. 102)

[Marot]



THE HÔTEL DE L'AIGLE: ELEVATION OF THE GARDEN FRONT AND INTERNAL ELEVATION WITH
GROUND PLAN (P. 104)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

the angles and to the window openings are strongly accentuated, and, except the centre bay, this treatment of the quoins with fillings in of black and red brick-work is the only attempt at ornament on the façade to the court. A steep slate roof rises immediately above the cornice, with large stone dormers alternating with smaller ones treated as *œils-de-bœuf*. In the view of the building given in Marot,¹ two towers are shown next the ends of the wings on the side to the Rue des Petits Champs, terminating in circular lanterns and cupolas. These have disappeared, the cartouches above the first floor windows have gone, the roofs have been altered, and the brick-work renewed or repointed in a most abominable way, but enough remains to show the general character of the work, more particularly on the garden side. Blondel dismisses the design with contempt: "*La décoration de ces bâtimens est d'une architecture fort indifférente*"; but, fine judge of architecture as he was, Blondel could not escape his time and his training. Some reference to an order of some sort may have appeared to him indispensable, he may have deplored the absence of the "grand manner," as he conceived it, and had little sympathy with this survival of the manner of Henri IV. There is no doubt, too, that in the façade to the court the spacing of the two short windows below the stringcourse which comes rather more than half way up the front, is by no means happy, and spoils the proportions of the fine upper storey, but Blondel has done less than justice to the skilful combination of brick and stone, the bold and masculine scale, more particularly of the gallery, and the frank common sense shown in the general handling of the design. Le Muet was not an architect of genius, but he knew his business. The galleries at the back, though they carry on the treatment of the main block, are finer in scale, and it is possible that these were the additions made by Mansart to Le Muet's building. Mazarin filled his house and galleries with the rarest treasures. Sauval says that whereas France and Italy alone contributed to the decoration of Richelieu's house, for Mazarin's palace the entire world was stripped of its wealth, of its curiosities, its most beautiful furniture, its finest books, its rarest manuscripts, its most

¹ Le Grand Marot. The Hôtel Mazarin became the Hôtel de Nevers. It was afterwards used for the Compagnie des Indes, and was finally incorporated with other buildings as the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1721. At the back of it was the Bourse, the scene of Law's financial operations. The only authentic view of it as it was is Marot's engraving; the entrance there shown was rebuilt by Mollet, the architect of the Hôtel d'Evreux. See Blondel, iii, 68. Blondel says he was unable to ascertain the names of the different architects who worked on the Bibliothèque du Roi.

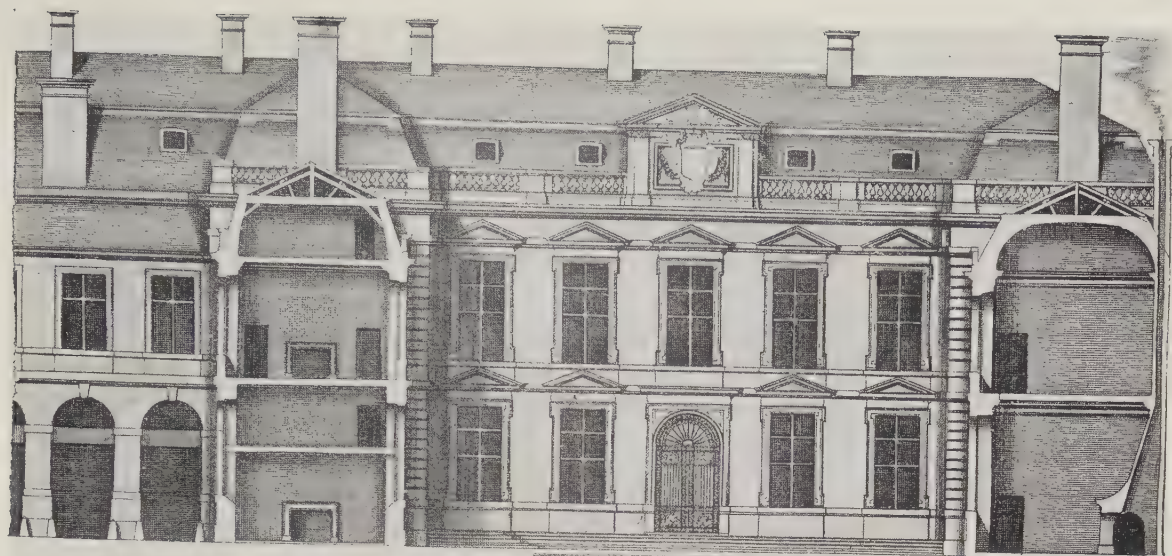
excellent painting and sculpture. But then, as M. Lavissee put it,¹ Richelieu was "Français de vieille Roche." Mazarin was a man of no country; moreover, he did not always pay.

The Hôtels de l'Aigle and de Chevreuse were both in the Faubourg St. Germain. The Hôtel de l'Aigle had the usual court with buildings on one side only, the base-court with the stables being placed on the opposite side of the street. Certain features of the plan, such as the quadrant on either side of the entrance, and the treatment of the façade of the main building to the court and on the garden-side, show the influence of François Mansart, and make it probable that this was a comparatively late work of Le Muet. The Hôtel de Chevreuse was destroyed only ten years ago. It was designed by Le Muet for Madame de Rohan Montbazon, Duchesse de Chevreuse, in 1650, that is, as M. Sellier puts it, "en pleine Fronde."² It seems to have been finished by the year 1657, but the Duchess only occupied it for some five years, when she retired to the country, and left the house to the eldest son of her first husband, Louis Charles d'Albert, Duc de Luynes.³ The Hôtel de Chevreuse, or de Luynes as Blondel calls it, was probably the most important building that Le Muet designed in Paris. To the left of the enclosure was the porter's lodge, to the right a small court, both with quadrant sides to the forecourt which measured 104 ft. by 66 ft. The domestic offices were to the right, on the opposite side of the court were the stables, a staircase, and the concierge's room with an archway leading through to the base-court which had a separate entrance from the street. Five steps led up from the forecourt to a broad terrace in front of the main building, a reminiscence of earlier planning such as that of the Luxembourg. The grand staircase occupied an oblong compartment on the right, a secondary stairs and vestibule occupying a similar space to the left, a suite of rooms, including the *salle à manger*, extended the full length of the house, with windows to the garden at the back, and a total frontage of a hundred and fifty feet. On the first floor and facing the gardens were the *salon* and *ante-chamber* with two important suites of bedrooms. Over the offices on the right, a gallery ran the whole length of the wing, the left-hand wing comprising subordin-

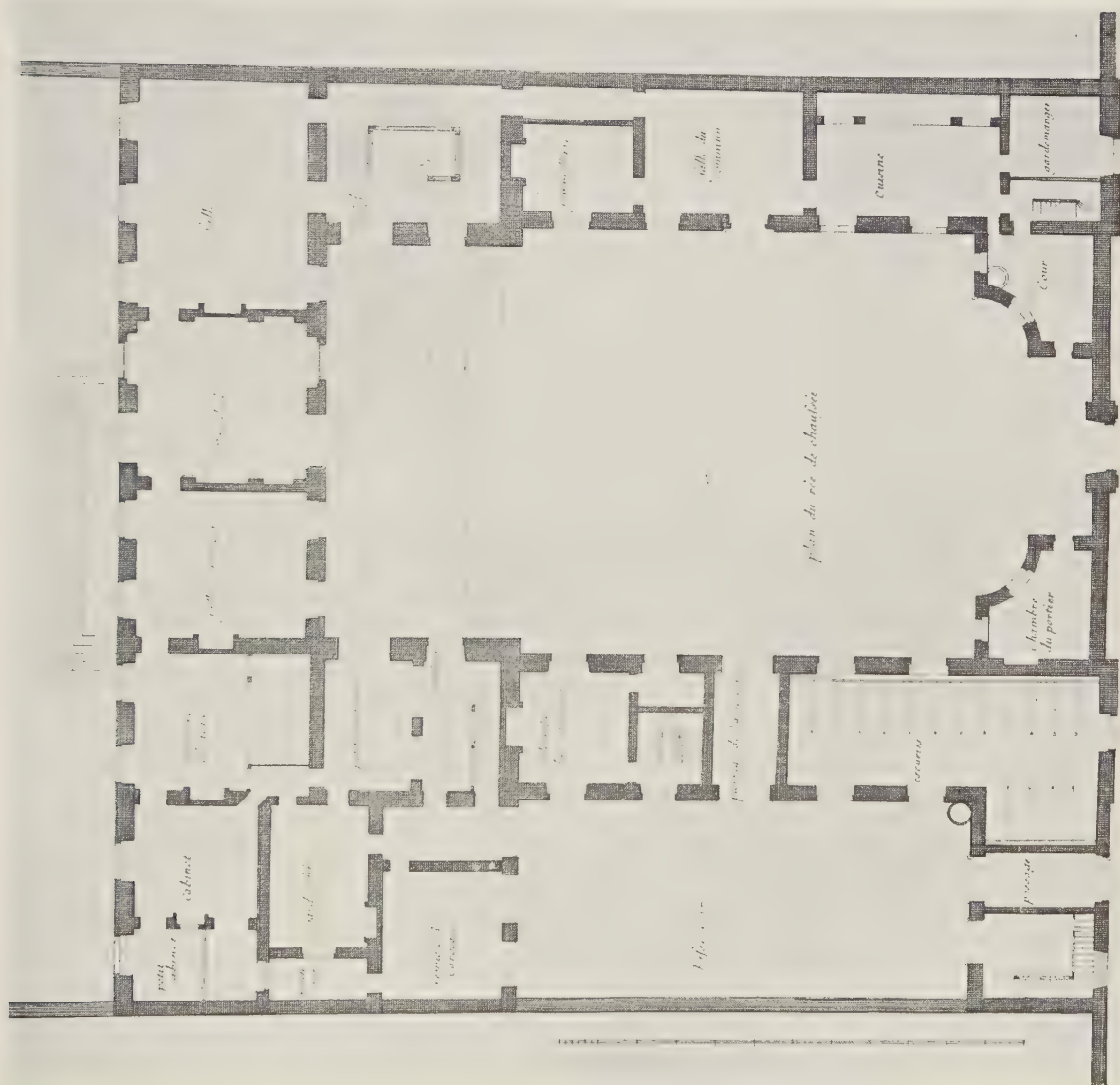
¹ "Hist. de France," vii, 1, 67.

² See Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," i, 255-257.

³ Sellier, "Anciens Hôtels de Paris," 247. The duchess retired to a small house at Gagny, near Chelles. "C'est là que l'altière Frondeuse d'autrefois, devenue la plus humble des femmes, attendit sa dernière heure, et qu'elle mourût sans bruit à l'âge de soixante-dix-neuf ans, en 1679."



SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN
THE HOTEL DE CHEVREUSE (P. 104)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

ate bedrooms and passages with service stairs. On the outside, there was no attempt at ornament, except mitred and returned architraves to the window with friezes and pediments, and the design gives one the impression of a well-lit and well-arranged house of a rather sedate and sober architecture. Blondel says that the exterior had no merit but its symmetry, and that it showed what an abuse it is to introduce bays and frontispieces unnecessarily. He admitted, however, that the regularity of its execution and the correctness of its mouldings were satisfactory, and proved how essential to good architecture are fine workmanship and the art of "profiling."

In 1655 Le Muet was appointed to succeed Lemer cier in the conduct of the works at the Val de Grâce, at a salary of 3,000 francs a year. D'Argenville¹ says that he carried on the work from above the cornice of the lower order "*jusqu'à l'entier couronnement, suivant les premiers dessins de ce fameux artiste [Mansart].*" In 1656 he designed the Church of the Augustins Dechaussés, or Petits Pères, near the Place des Victoires, "*pas d'une étendue considérable ni d'une distribution fort ingénieuse,*" but according to Blondel² only the foundations were carried out by Le Muet, the walls for a height of seven feet were built under Libéral Bruant, and continued by Gabriel Le Duc, and it was not till 1739 that the west front was designed by Carteaux, and the church consecrated by the Bishop of Joppa in the following year. The building in no way suggests the manner of Le Muet, and no explanation is known of his having been superseded, but new men were coming on, and Le Muet in the latter years of his life gradually fades away into obscurity. In 1666 he was only receiving 1,000 francs as salary for his work at Val de Grâce, whereas Le Duc is promoted to 1,500 and Mignard the painter received 8,000 francs, the balance of the 33,000 for which he had agreed to paint the dome of the church in 1663.³ It appears that in 1666 Le Muet's salary was raised to 2,000 francs a

¹ "Vies," etc., i, 337. D'Argenville says that Le Duc and Broutel were appointed inspectors under Le Muet. Gabriel Le Duc, who later became an architect of considerable reputation, was, in fact, employed on the masonry of the Val de Grâce, and in 1667 he and Broutel received the sum of 138,320 francs for masonry, and later in the same year further payments for minor works of masonry and plaster. In 1670 Le Duc is called "architecte," but lower down in the same account he and a certain Duval are called "entrepreneurs des bastiments de ladicte Abbaye." *Comptes* (1664-80), i, 166, 167, 229, 482. D'Argenville's account is therefore inaccurate. They were not officials under Le Muet, but contractors for the building of the Abbey of Val de Grâce.

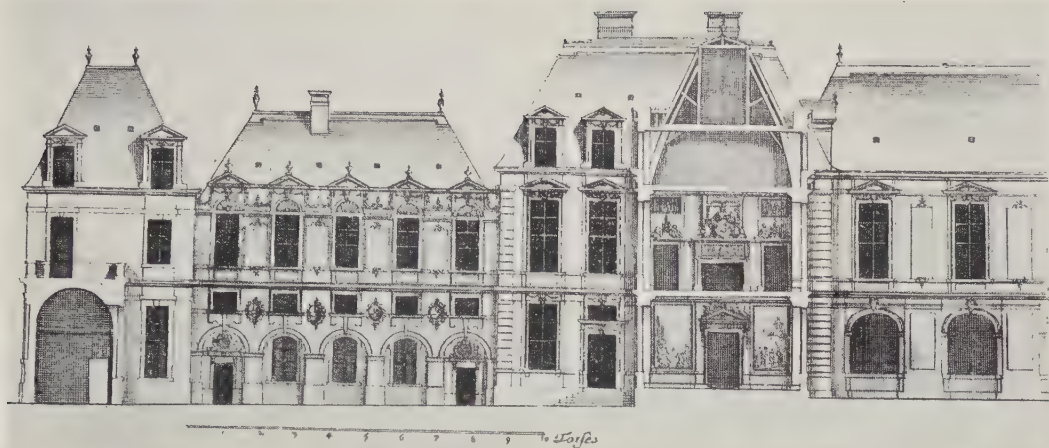
² "Arch. Franç.," iii, 20. Blondel says that the first church here had been built in 1629, from the designs of an engineer of Louis XIII named Galopin.

³ *Comptes* (1666), i, 166-7.

year, but in the accounts for January 1669, he is only described as "autre architecte" with a salary of 1,000 francs, whereas M. Louis le Vau, "premier architecte du Roy," is paid 6,000 francs.¹ This is the last we hear of Le Muet. According to Blondel he lived on till 1680, according to D'Argenville he died in 1669. He had outlived his generation and was passed by younger men.

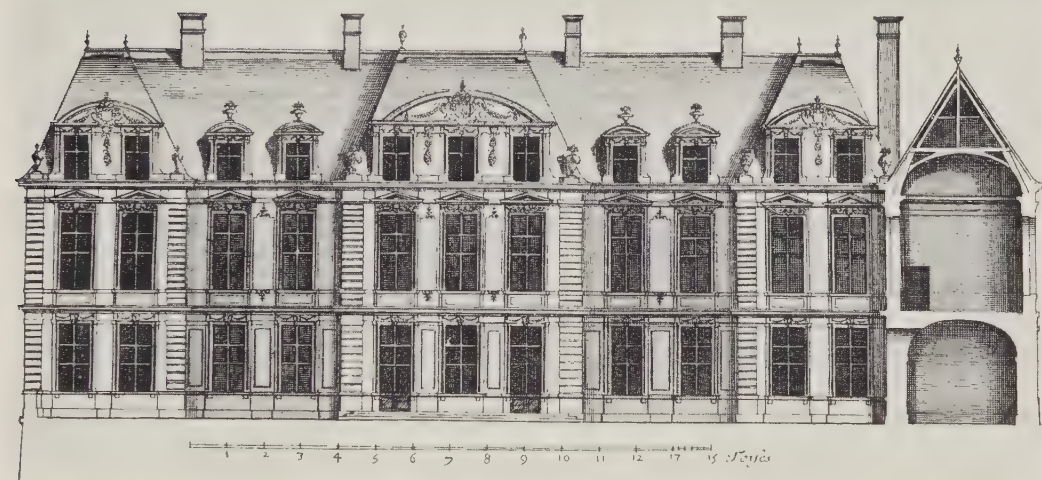
Yet he was an able architect. D'Argenville says that his taste was good, sagacious, temperate, and founded on the antique, and that he was the first French architect to understand the new manner of distributing apartments. There is one difficulty in the way of this claim. Admitting that Le Muet made the advance in planning claimed for him, Jean du Cerceau's plan of the Hôtel de Bretonvillers (if it was made by him) anticipates the essential feature of Le Muet's plan of the Hotel of Chevreuse, and is, if anything, the finer plan of the two. The elevations of the Hôtel de Bretonvillers shown in the Petit Marot, are actually superior to those of the Hôtel Chevreuse, and might very easily be taken for an improved version of the latter. So far as I am aware, no suggestion has been made that Le Muet designed the Hôtel de Bretonvillers, but its manner is much more akin to that of Le Muet than to that of the designer of the Hôtel de Sully. All Le Muet's plans for town houses show a great advance on such rudimentary plans as those of the Hôtel de Sully, an undoubted work by Du Cerceau, which consisted in stringing together a number of rooms round three sides of a court. D'Argenville's praise is probably well founded, Le Muet was the first to attempt independent communication between rooms, instead of the traditional arrangement *en suite*. Moreover he was the first to break up his site by the introduction of courts and areas for light and air, there are examples of both these innovations in the plan of the Hôtel de Chevreuse. His staircases were ample and well placed, and so far as it is possible to judge from what is left of his work at Tanlay his interior decoration was dignified, if wanting in the subtleties and refinement of Mansart. Without being an architect of first rate eminence, he ranks, I think, at any rate in domestic work, second only to the latter among his contemporaries. But history has treated him unkindly, and except for his book on building he would probably be nothing but a name and a shadow to a handful of industrious students.

¹ Comptes, ii, 192.

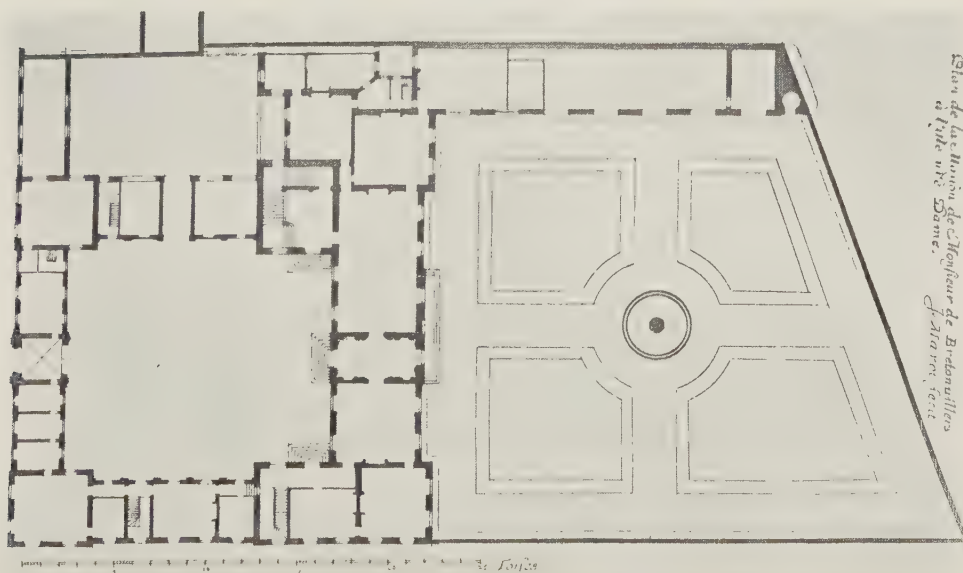


LONGITUDINAL SECTION, THROUGH COURTYARD

[Marot



GARDEN FRONT



Plan de la Maison de Monsieur de Bretonvillers
à l'île aux Dames.
Château de Bretonvillers

HÔTEL BRETONVILLERS (P. 106)

[Marot



CHÂTEAU DE BALLEROY: NEAR CAEN (P. 110)
VANSART, ARCHITECT

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANÇOIS MANSART

FRANÇOIS MANSART stands by himself in the history of French Architecture. Not only was he an acknowledged master in his art, a man of indisputable genius, who summed up all that was best in the work of his contemporaries and predecessors, but he was a man of distinct and curious personality. Lemercier and Le Muet may have their places assigned them, but François Mansart was too great an artist to be classified.

Mansart was born at Paris in 1598.¹ His father was a certain Absalom Mansart, carpenter to the King, who died² when Mansart was a boy, and the latter is supposed to have received his training in architecture from his brother-in-law, Germain Gautier, one of the royal architects, who was employed on the Parliament House at Rennes and was killed by accident on the works in 1635.³ Perrault says vaguely that his father was an architect. Blondel, who was sounder in architectural criticism than in history, says that the Mansart family originally came from Rome, but had been settled in France for 800 years "*et avait rempli successivement les emplois d'architecte, de peintre, et de sculpteur de nos Rois.*" The only mention of any of the family known is an entry in the annals of the Louvre and Tuileries for 1608, of 500 livres "*a Jehan Mansart, autre sculpteur, pour ses gaiges de lad. année, a lui nouvellement accordez par brevet de xi juin 1606,*" and an entry in 1618 of similar payment to Pierre Mansart, sculptor, in place of his father Jehan.⁴ No one has suggested that François Mansart went to Italy, or what, if any, further training he received in architecture, but, as D'Argenville justly says, this was the less material owing to his rare natural endowments, his "*exquisite taste, just and solid intelligence aiming always at proportion and rich and noble imagination.*"

His earliest work is said to have been the Hôtel de la Vrilliére or

¹ Perrault, "*Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France.*" D'Argenville's account is based in the main on Perrault.

² D'Argenville, i, 545.

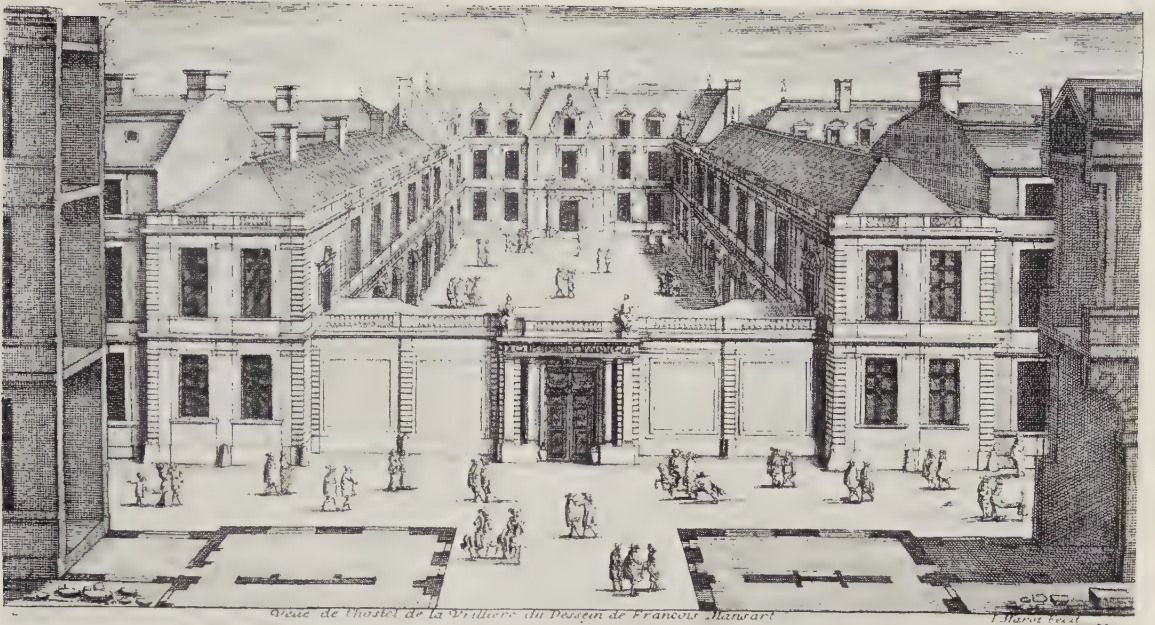
³ Bauchal, Dict., 249, Gautier.

⁴ Berty, "*Top. Hist.,*" etc., ii, 205, 211.

de Toulouse (now the Banque de France).¹ This was followed by the entrance to the Church of the Feuillants at Paris, and the Châteaux of Berni, of Balleroy in Normandy, of Blerancourt, and Choisy-sur-Seine. Blondel says that the Hôtel de Toulouse, in its original form, and before the considerable alterations by De Cotte in 1719 for the Comte de Toulouse, was only a private house, built for Raymond Phelippeau in 1620, but unfortunately he does not make it clear which part of the vast plan given in his book is original, and which of it is the work of De Cotte and later architects. Blondel treats the design in the main as by Mansart, and apologizes for his severe criticism of the work of an architect for whom he had so profound an admiration. The Hôtel de Toulouse with its gardens occupied a large and very awkward site at the acute angles formed by the Rue Neuve des Bons Enfants and the Rue de la Vrillière. From the first the site presented difficulties, and when the later alterations were made it was found to be so contracted that the stables had to be placed underground with access by a double ramp. Mansart's general conception of the plan was to place the Court of Honour in the centre, with a kitchen court to the left with separate entrance to the street, and in the large triangular space to the right an oblong base-court with offices on the street side, and in the triangular spaces still left over, a stable court at the apex of the triangle, and an office court further down the Rue Neuve des Bons Enfants for offices. How much of this was by Mansart and how much by De Cotte does not appear from Blondel's account. The principal rooms as usual faced the gardens and were on the further side of the Court of Honour, which Blondel says was too small for its purpose, though it was 70 ft. wide by 95 ft. long, exclusive of the peristyles on either side. On the left-hand side was a very large staircase,² lit from the kitchen court, with a vestibule opening on to the forecourt. This part of the plan must have been most inconvenient. The kitchen and offices are placed in a remote corner, with no access to the principal rooms except across the courts, and as the house grew two other kitchens were added at corners of the building. In Blondel's

¹ Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," iii, 26. Blondel's illustrations show the house as altered by De Cotte. The date 1620 is very doubtful.

² The dimensions of the grand escalier were 55 ft. by 25 ft., exclusive of the vestibule which measured 25 ft. by 25 ft. The hotel was remodelled in 1800 by Delaunay for the Banque de France, and it has been largely altered and extended since, in 1860-1 and 1870-5. MM. Guadet and Pascal, in their historical notes to Blondel, say that the "Galerie Dorée" and the trompe were constructed from Mansart's original design under Questerl.



Vue de l'hôtel de la Vrillière du Dessin de François Mansart

J. Marot fecit
[Marot]

HÔTEL DE LA VRILLIÈRE or DE TOULOUSE (P. 107)

(MANSART, ARCHITECT)



Le Couvent des FEUILLANTS dans la rue S. Honoré qui autrefois estoit dans le Faubourg, a esté fondé par Henry 3^e l'an 1587, et depuis a esté rebasty de la libéralité de la Reine Marie de Medicis, avec une fort belle Eglise comme on la voit à présent. A Paris Chez Mariette rue des Haras au Cabinet.

[J. van Merlen]

CHURCH OF THE CONVENT OF THE FEUILLANTS: PARIS (P. 109)

(MANSART, ARCHITECT)



Vue du Château de Berni du côté de l'Entrée

Maritz ex. cum pri. No.

Perelle del. et scul.

[Perelle fecit

CHÂTEAU; BERNI (p. III)

eyes the most serious faults were the placing of the grand staircase in the left-hand side "contre tout précepte de convenance," and the total neglect of vista in the planning of the forecourt, and it appears that the garden elevation had all the faults of overcrowding and bad planning, the "licences condamnables" so assiduously pointed out by Blondel. But the entrance to the hotel with the simple Doric order was considered a masterpiece by the connoisseurs. There were men in France already capable of appreciating a sense of scale and delicacy of touch beyond the reach of the official architects, and Mansart early took up that position of isolated pre-eminence which with certain personal qualities marked him out as a man by himself. The ability shown in the Hôtel de Toulouse, in spite of the faults pointed out by later critics, probably lead to his employment by Louis XIII to design the west front of the Church of the Feuillants in the Rue St. Honoré, in 1624 or 1629.¹ The result, however, was disappointing. The design was in three bays, a doorway in the centre flanked by pairs of detached Ionic columns with niches and figures in the side bays and engaged columns at the ends. The entablature was returned round each pair of columns with the usual result of breaking up the lines and losing all breadth of treatment. Above the second order he placed an eccentric attic-storey with ugly trusses and clumsy obelisks at the ends, and the whole design appears to have been immature and over elaborated. Blondel says "ce fut . . . le coup d'essai de cet architecte qui, dans la suite, devint si célèbre, qu'il peut être regardé comme le plus habile de tous nos architectes Français" ("Arch. Franç.," iii, 95). The treatment of the orders reminds one of De Brosse's clumsy design at St. Gervais. The obelisks were stumpy in outline and had bands of ornament in the manner of De l'Orme. The figures seemed too big and leaned precariously upon the pediment,² and the attic storey is meaningless. Blondel says that the detail was excellent, but that the whole composition savoured of the Gothic manner and of the ignorance of the right use of sculpture that prevailed early in the seventeenth century. Blondel gives as a foil and corrective to this vicious design a very simple entrance built in 1676, apparently from Mansart's design, which he says had always appealed to him as one of the best things

¹ Destroyed in 1804. In the view published by Mariette the rebuilding of the church is attributed to Marie de Médicis. Blondel says Louis XIII paid for it in 1629, but the date given in his engraving is 1624.

² They were carved by Guillin "qui depuis a fait dans nos édifices Français quelques ouvrages passables."

of its kind in France, and yet, he adds, men unversed in the art would not understand that a mere square doorway with four columns and a frontispiece can deserve such praise. "*Quelle différence cependant entre un ouvrage d'architecture élevé par un homme d'un vrai mérite, et un autre du même genre érigé par certains architectes.*" Mansart was still a young man, and the design of the Feuillants is characteristic of an enthusiastic but inexperienced architect full of his knowledge of detail, but as yet unable either to place it or to reject it wholly. It is peculiar to architecture that while sculptors and painters have often arrived early, there is scarcely an instance of first-rate architects having done so, for the latter have no opportunity of experiment such as the sculptor and the painter can make with little difficulty, and have to gain their experience of scale by their buildings. Probably no one would have more sincerely condemned this early exploit of the Feuillants than Mansart himself in his maturer days. So strongly did he feel the imperfection of his own work that, as we shall see later on, this scrupulous diffidence actually wrecked his career.

If the date (1620) given by Blondel for the Hôtel de Toulouse is correct Mansart, who was then twenty-two, must have been singularly precocious, for De Brosse was still alive, Lemer cier rapidly coming to the front, and it is difficult to see how he can have sufficiently distinguished himself by this date to have been entrusted with such important works as the Hôtel de Toulouse and the Feuillants before he was thirty. Indeed, the whole history of Mansart's early years is obscure—where he learnt his art, how he started, how he made his reputation, who were his first employers, is still unknown. There are vague legends of his work in Normandy, and it appears to be pretty well established that he was the architect of the great house of Balleroy, south-west of Bayeux. Traces of his manner are also, I think, to be found at Daubeuf and Cany, near Fécamp, both attributed to Mansart, but later in date than Balleroy. The astonishing thing is that Mansart should appear, out of space as it were, as architect of the Hôtel de Toulouse and the Feuillants on the one hand, and of a great country house such as Balleroy on the other. For Balleroy is no mere manor-house, but a great nobleman's house, approached in the true seigneurial manner by an avenue and spacious roadway with the houses of the village on either side. A causeway crosses the deep hollow that lies between the village and the château, and leads to the entrance gates of the forecourt with screen walls to right and left, terminating at the outer angles in circular pavilions. On either side of the forecourt are



[Mon. Hist.]

ENTRANCE TO FORECOURT (NOW FARMYARD): BRÉCV, CALVADOS (PP. III-III2)

(MANSART, ARCHITECT)

[Photo.]

low ranges of buildings, and a flight of steps leads up from the fore-court to the court of honour, placed on a platform surrounded by a deep dry moat with isolated square pavilions at the two advanced angles, and on the further side of the court the house itself dominating the whole and terminating the vista that opened from beyond the village. The house is of unusual height, in the earlier manner of Louis XIII, with quoins and rustications, no orders, and steep pitched roofs with lucarnes. The main building has a large central pavilion three storeys high, with lucarne windows, a belvedere and cupola, and on either side are lower buildings in two storeys with lucarnes, but the storeys are of great height, and both here and at Lentheuil near Caen, the impression of great height rather than horizontality is unusual and not entirely satisfactory. Balleroy was begun in 1626.¹ Its details resemble those of the Hôtel Mazarin at Paris, and it is clearly an early work, yet Mansart's quality is beginning to tell, in the scale and fine proportions of the façade and the reticence and austerity of its treatment.

Of Mansart's work at Choisy-sur-Seine and Blérancourt I can ascertain nothing. The house at Choisy belonging to Mademoiselle de Montpensier was designed by the elder Gabriel with gardens by Le Nôtre. In the engraving published by Mariette¹ no reference whatever is made to Mansart. Berni, now destroyed, is only known to us through Perelle's engravings. It appears to have been the first version of what Mansart afterwards carried out more successfully at Blois and Maisons. The plan on the entrance side of Berni consisted of a corps de logis, or main block with a central pavilion carried as usual a storey higher than the rest of the buildings, wings ran out from this to the court, with circular buildings terminating in domes and cupolas in the re-entering angles, screened on the ground floor by quadrant colonnades running out from the centre pavilion to the angles of the fronts of the wings. Broad rusticated pilasters run up the angles of the building, and with the exception of the colonnades of the entrance front, no order was used on the exterior. As usual with Mansart each block of building had its separate roof, that is the ridges did not run through. Not far from Lentheuil, and between Caen and Bayeux, there is a remarkable fragment of a great undertaking never completed, and probably designed by Mansart, the entrance screen and garden of what is now the farm of Breçy. The entrance

¹ It is said to have been completed in 1636, and was decorated with paintings by Mignard.

² Nothing now remains of this building except two "Pavillons des Suisses."

consists of a central archway 11 ft. wide with square-headed doorways on either side measuring 10 ft. by 5 ft., and screen walls beyond divided into bays by Ionic pilasters surmounted by an enriched architrave and very graceful urns. The mouldings to the openings are the big bolection mouldings usual from about 1620 onwards, and above the central archway there is admirably designed and executed sculpture. The total length is some 75 feet. The court in which the archway opens is now used as a farmyard. On the further side is a plain seventeenth-century house with farm buildings on either side of the court, but at the back of the house is a very interesting garden, designed in three levels with flights of stairs, terraces round three sides of the upper garden, piers, carved trusses, and a sumptuous balustrade along the upper terrace, and the retaining wall at the upper end of the garden. The date of the garden and of the entrance and screen wall I should put at about 1630. It appears as if the owner, having built his magnificent entrance, and completed his garden, had come to the end of his resources and had to content himself with the plainest house that would shelter himself and his household. Mansart was totally indifferent to considerations of cost. The essential thing to him was to get his idea realized, and if his client came to grief in the process that was his affair and not his architect's—but the architect paid the penalty in the end.

Mansart was now fairly established, and soon after 1630 appears to have been appointed architect to Gaston de France, Duc d'Orléans, who in 1635 instructed him to prepare designs for the complete rebuilding of the Château de Blois.¹ All the north-west side of the Château opposite the entrance built by Charles d'Orléans, father of Louis XII, was pulled down, and here Mansart designed the stately block of buildings that occupies the whole of the side opposite the entrance, perhaps the finest example of domestic neo-classic in France. The composition is very simple; a central pavilion slightly higher than the adjacent buildings with advanced wings. A curved colonnade with coupled Doric columns connects the centre of the façade with the wings, and above the colonnade the building continues for two more storeys with an Ionic order on the first floor, and a composite on the second. The great slate roof sweeps round unbroken by dormers, with one continuous sky-line. There are several peculiarities in detail, which make it clear that Mansart contemplated carrying his building all round the

¹ Sauval, vii, 307, says of Blois, "Gaston de France, Duc d'Orléans, l'a ruiné pour y jeter les fondements d'un superbe Palais."



CEILING OF MANSART'S STAIRCASE AT BLOIS (P. 112)



DETAIL OF CARVING: COVE UNDER GALLERY, MANSART'S STAIRCASE, ELOIS (P. 112)

courtyard. The design stops abruptly at the east end of the south wing facing the river, and on the north side, where his building abuts on the François I wing, the work is left all rough, the stones torn out and not replaced. Gaston d'Orléans very soon got into difficulties,¹ and the work was abruptly suspended a few years after it was begun. Only eight out of the twenty-two Doric columns of the peristyle were completed, the top member of the entablature was left *en bloc*, the architrave and frieze were worked on the central entrance but not over the side, and several details of the magnificent staircase were left unfinished. The great staircase occupies an oblong compartment 36 ft. by 30 ft., some two thirds of the centre pavilion. The stairs are only carried up to the first floor, above which a bold stone cove comes out from the walls to an oblong opening with recesses on the two long sides. Above the cove is a gallery or landing running round the four sides, and above the landing the wall continues oval in plan with recesses to the window openings, and terminates in a superb oval dome with a cupola. The whole of this intricate design is carried out in stone, and it is one of the most astonishing pieces of masonry in existence, dependent for its stability on highly ingenious combinations of straight and curved arches and their resultant forces. The design and scale of the ornament are inimitable. Here at length François Mansart found himself, and it would be hardly too much to say that this staircase alone would justify his reputation as the finest domestic architect of the world. Mansart's work at Blois has been condemned in the most ignorant manner, as cold, frigid, and uninteresting, beside the flamboyant detail of François I. Such criticism proceeds from a misconception of architecture, and from the ingrained fallacy of treating it as a matter of ornament. To all who care for rhythm and proportion, scale and symmetry, in architecture, to all who can appreciate the austere reticence of a great artist, Mansart's building at Blois will always appeal as a masterpiece of design.

Maisons appears to have followed Blois. In 1642 René de Longueuil, President-a-Mortier of the Parliament of Paris, an able and unscrupulous magistrate of great wealth,² determined to build himself a house worthy of his estate at Maisons Laftite, as it is now called, on

¹ Gaston de France, Duc d'Orléans, third son of Henri IV, and brother of Louis XIII, married Mlle. de Montpensier (who died in 1627) and, in 1632, Margaret of Lorraine. He was engaged in all the plots against Richelieu, and played a deplorable part in the Fronde. He died in 1660.

² "C'est un dangereux homme s'il y parvient, et qui fera bien crier du monde." A letter from Guy Patin, the doctor, quoted by Nicolle, "Le Château de Maisons," 58.

the banks of the Seine. Mansart went down with his client to settle the site, and undertook the work on condition that he had *carte-blanche* and was to be allowed to alter his work as and when he liked. He was said to have actually pulled down one of the wings of Maisons and rebuilt it to an altered plan, a matter of some 100,000 francs extra,¹ but De Longueil was rich, and he was also ambitious. If money could do it he meant to have the most perfect house of its kind in France, and he certainly succeeded, for in Perrault's time,² and even in its present melancholy state, it has been the aim of many an artist's pilgrimage.

The house as it was left by Mansart is shown in the Petit Marot (five plates), and in two fine engravings by Perelle,³ which show the forecourt without the terrace and the garden side facing the Seine with its terraces and parterres which have now entirely disappeared. As shown in Marot, the plan consisted of a forecourt surrounded by a moat and double balustrade, three steps lead up from the forecourt to a broad low terrace occupying the whole width of the façade between the wings, a reminiscence of the Luxembourg, and a most inconvenient arrangement, as carriages had to draw up some forty feet short of the front door. The principal entrance is in the centre pavilion, with a suite of rooms to the left, the principal staircase and a suite of rooms beyond it to the right. In front of the wings on the forecourt side are two oval chambers, 25 ft. in diameter with entrances on three sides, those on the outer side near the moat having a semi-circular recess, the whole enclosed in a rectangular outer plan with chambers of irregular shape in the outer angles, and masses of masonry occupying the greater part of the angles abutting on the main building. The chamber on the left facing the house was the Chapel, that on the right was placed there to match the Chapel. They are important in the history of French architecture as being the first deliberate use of oval or circular rooms which became so common in later French work. Mansart himself was greatly taken with this plan for chapels, he added an oval chapel at the end of the Oratory, and designed the very remarkable Church of St. Marie in the rue St. Antoine on a circular plan with recesses. With this exception, the plan of Maisons is not remarkable or original. There is little provision

¹ Nicolle, "Le Château de Maisons," 16.

² Perrault, "Les Hommes Illustres," 208.

³ Marot's plan shows a raised terrace round two sides of the forecourt, reached by flights of ten steps on either side of the entrance, and kept within the moat. This terrace is not shown in Perelle's view. It is possible that it was one of Mansart's many projects altered in execution.

for separate access to the rooms. The grand staircase only reaches the first floor, and the attics and Voltaire's room are reached by a narrow stairs formed in the thickness of the walls. There are a number of supplementary staircases, but Mansart's pre-occupation was not in the least with the exigences of domestic service. His business as he conceived it was to design the finest suites of reception rooms and state bedrooms possible, to provide noble entrance halls and approaches, to clothe them in the most perfect architectural form and to leave the rest to find itself. As to the cost, Mansart was perfectly careless, and it appears not to have entered into his calculations in the slightest degree. Within the limits that he set himself he was completely successful.

The main staircase is characteristic of Mansart in its subtlety of design. It is set in an oblong compartment, about 27 ft. 6 in. by 25 ft.¹ A bold stringcourse runs round at the first floor level, with slightly projecting panels 6 ft. 6 in. wide in the centre of the sides. Above these panels are four groups of children, representing the Arts, a concert of music, Love and Marriage, and the Art of War.² On either side of these groups are Ionic pilasters, canted on plan sufficiently to admit of an oval entablature above them, supporting a gallery with an oak balustrade of intersecting curves. Above and behind this is a second entablature, above which is the dome with a coved opening to the cupola at the top. To the left of the staircase is "the King's Room," the principal room of the house. This was some 80 ft. long from end to end, by 27 ft. wide. The end bay next the fireplace was divided off by a balustrade from the rest of the room, a feature supposed to be the prerogative of Royalty, though it was soon adopted by the nobility,³ and even by the upper bourgeoisie. At the end is a magnificent chimney-piece with a great oval frame for a portrait, swags, cornucopias, canephorî, and eagles, supporting a cartouche above the upper entablature. The entrance hall on the ground floor, with its columns and pilasters, its

¹ These dimensions are taken from Marot's plan.

² The existing figures are plaster casts of the originals, which were carved in stone by Gerard von Obstal.

³

"Tous gens de lustre,
Tous gens de daïs et balustre."

The "Muse Royale," 1686, of a meeting of distinguished personages quoted by Nicolle, "Le Château de Maisons," 35. In the wing to the left of this room are some well designed Empire decorations with caryatide balusters in the drum of the cupola, and a fine old flock paper of the date, in grisaille and faded red. Out of this room opens a small circular boudoir, still covered behind the paper with frescoes of gods and goddesses "all standing naked in the open air," and probably dating from the time of Mansart.

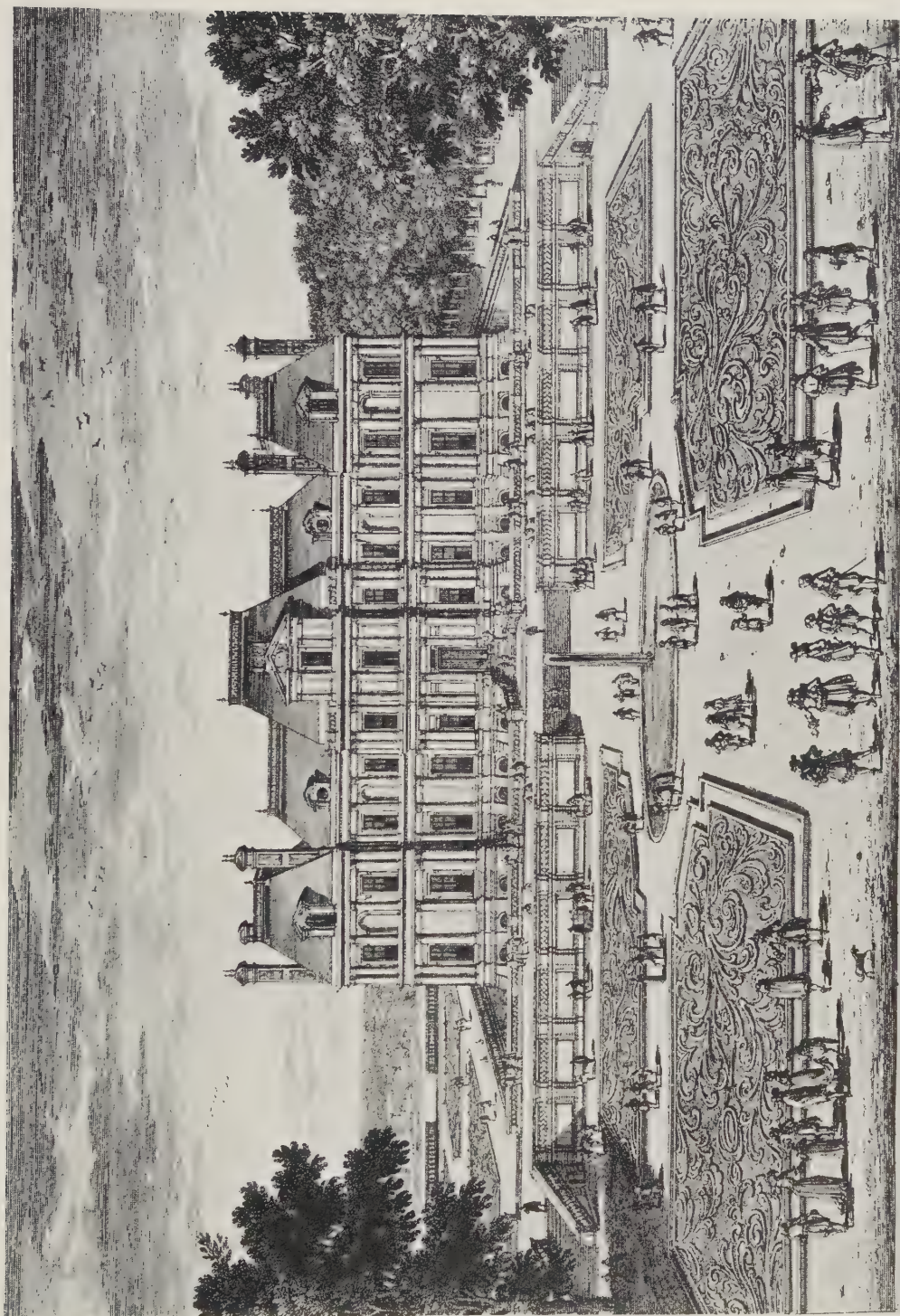
groups after Sarrazin, and its bas-reliefs by Guérin, is still pretty much as Mansart left it, except that the superb grilles of polished iron are no longer there.¹ These grilles are said to have cost De Longueil 40,000 crowns, and they were of a piece with the whole character of the work. De Longueil is said to have spent 12,000,000 livres on Maisons.² Mansart built walls of prodigious thickness, cellars of immense size and depth,³ and accepted nothing but the best material and workmanship throughout his building. Sarrazin, Gilles Guérin, Van Obstal, and Philippe Buyster were employed on the sculpture. Now Sarrazin was the first rector of the newly established academy of painting and sculpture,⁴ Guérin and Buyster were professors, and these men were the leading sculptors of the time. Nobody knew how De Longueil found the money. There were legends that he had found 40,000 gold pieces of the time of Charles IX when pulling down his house in Paris, but his enemies had no doubt in the matter at all. In 1650 he succeeded in getting himself appointed "Surintendant des Finances," on the death of d'Emery, on the principle of "au plus larron la bourse," according to Guy Patin. He only held the post for a year, but he managed to clear himself, and was able to entertain Anne of Austria and the little King at Maisons in 1651. The later history of Maisons is characteristic of that of many of the great French houses. Its prosperous days lasted more or less till the middle of the eighteenth century. Voltaire came here in 1723 and lived in the house; but in 1777 the last representative of the De Longueils sold the property to the Comte d'Artois for less than a quarter of what it had cost his ancestor to build the house. The Comte d'Artois, finding the place more expensive than he had expected, tried to tempt Louis XVI into buying it by suggesting that he could demolish the Château, and so extend the forest of St. Germain-en-Laye right down to the borders of the Seine. In 1804 the Maréchal Lannes, Duc de Montebello, bought the property for 400,000 francs. Lannes, who was killed by a cannon ball at Essling, amused himself by planting poplars to represent

¹ They are now in the Louvre, in the Galerie d'Apollon, and the Pavillon de l'Horloge.

² Something like a million of our money. Yet the total length of the main façade is only about 240 ft. by 90 ft. at the sides.

³ They go one stage, and in places two, below the bottom of the moat. The walls on the ground floor are six feet thick, and all the woodwork of the roofs and attics is in oak. There are some bad settlements on the river side, otherwise the stonework is in excellent preservation.

⁴ Founded in 1648.



L. Moreau del. cum p. r. R. s.

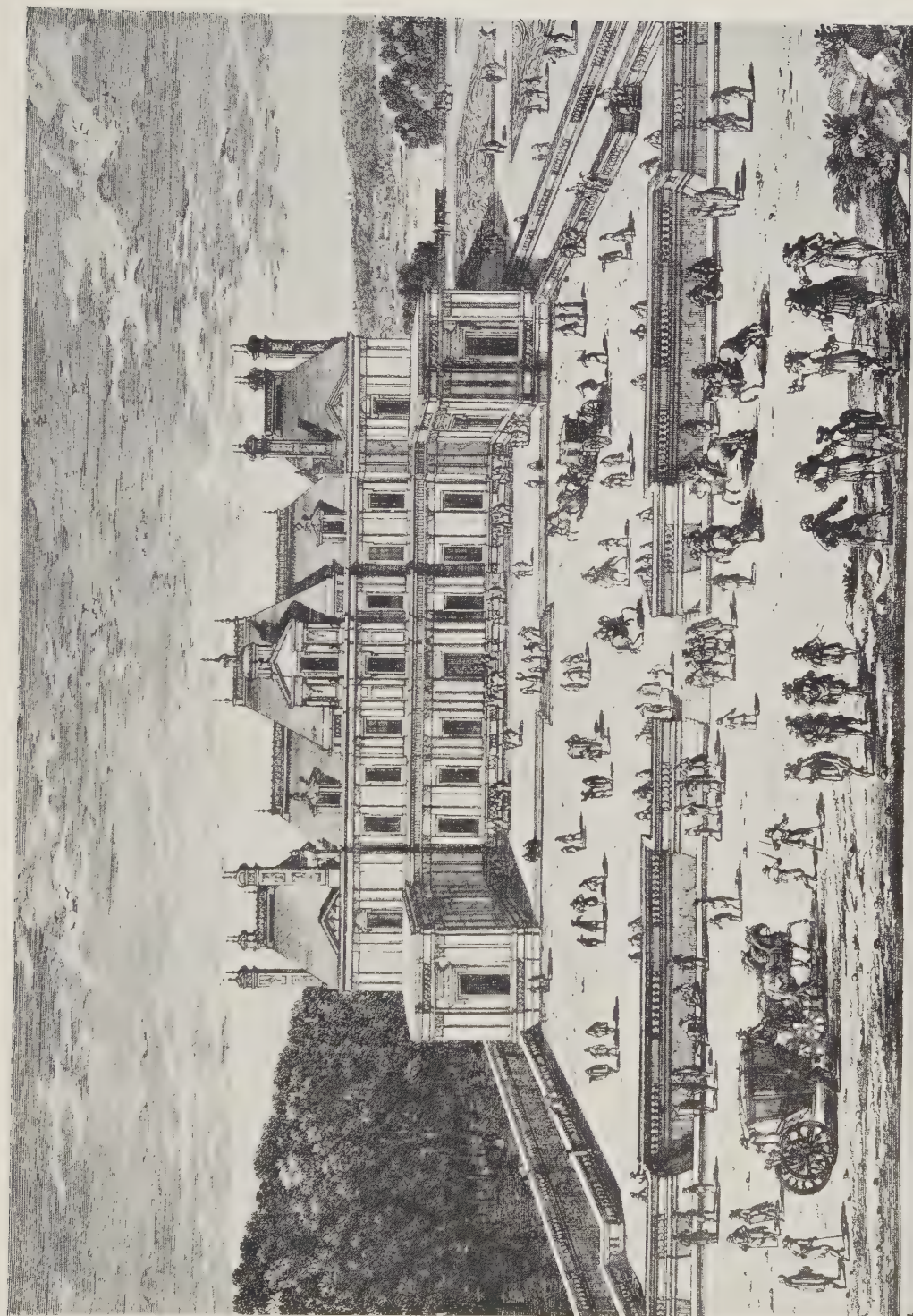
Veüe du Chateau de Maisons du costé du Jardin.

Fronte del edif.

[D. r. v. l.]

MAISONS: GARDEN FRONT (p. 114)

(MANSART, ARCHITECT)



I Marine excum pri. Pe.

Vue du Chateau de Maison du côté de l'entrée

Perelle del. et scul.

[*Perelle*]

MAISONS FROM THE FORECOURT (P. 114)

the position of his troops in one of his victories, and it was probably Lannes who had that remarkable "Empire" room carried out on the first floor. At this date the formal garden still survived, but the beginning of the end was near. The bridge over the Seine was building from 1811-22, and the workmen gave infinite trouble to Madame de Montebello. Blucher was here in 1815, and finally, in 1818, Madame de Montebello sold the property to Jacques Lafitte the banker, a very rich man who possessed not the slightest taste and finally ruined himself by his political speculations. He replaced the panelling with wall papers of 1825, pulled down and sold as old materials the stables which Mansart had built to the left of the forecourt,¹ destroyed what was left of the gardens, and finally in 1834 broke up the park into building plots. In 1849 his executors sold the place to a M. Thomas, who, with the help of an "architecte paysagiste," skilled in designing what the French choose to call the "jardin anglais," put the final touch to the barbarities of Lafitte. Anything more melancholy than Maisons in its present state it is difficult to imagine. What was once the avenue of approach is dotted about on either side with the most detestable little villas and bungalows, Moorish houses, Swiss chalets, and the like. Yellow bricks, red bricks, green paint in the wrong place, blue slates, all the worst details of modern French art—and at this stage it is worse than anything we have in England—insistently shout their vulgarity from their little plots. The forecourt is a waste of grass. There is no one in the house but the caretaker and his dogs.² There is no vestige of the gardens and just to the left of the house and in front of it a red brick hotel is rising in all its blatant impudence. It is not to be wondered at that the great days of architecture should be past, when noble monuments such as Maisons are so neglected. The furniture dealer, the bric-a-brac man, and the man of all trades have indeed carried the day. They have stifled architecture and successfully concentrated the whole artistic interest of the layman on the contents of their shops.

The entrance pavilion of Gevres-en-Brie is attributed to Mansart,

¹ These stables are described by D'Argenville in his "Voyage Pittoresque des Environs de Paris." They were eleven bays in length with pavilions at the ends. The centre of the façade for five bays was advanced with a colonnade carrying an attic storey, above which was a clock turret. Dogs were carved on the centre bay, and a trophy upheld by lions and horses surmounted the centre window on the ground floor. The description is not very clear, but suggests an anticipation of the trophies of the stables at Chantilly.

² Maisons is now the property of the State.

and Perrault,¹ repeated by d'Argenville, says that he designed the gardens and a great part of the exterior of the Château de Fresnes. At Fresnes he is said by Perrault to have built a chapel on the exact model of the Val de Grâce, which Perrault pronounced a masterpiece. How it was possible to reproduce that great church on the scale of a private chapel without making it ridiculous Perrault does not say. Fresnes was destroyed in 1828. At La Ferté Saint Aubin in the Sologne, the Château of La Ferté was rebuilt from his designs, between 1635 and 1650, and in 1659 he designed the Château of La Ferté Reuilly, near Issoudun (Indre). Whether the Château of Cany near Fécamp was designed by Mansart is unknown. The forecourt, some 240 ft. wide by 400 ft. long, exclusive of the demilune at the end round which the river is brought, is finely designed, and the house stands well at the further side of the court of honour with its surrounding moat. But the house itself, in which the brick and stone as used seem to have changed places, is mannered and unattractive, and the effect on the further side is spoilt by the transformation of the old formal "canal" or water-piece into a meandering lake. Daubeuf, also near Fécamp, is a less pretentious house, but a delightful example of the Louis XIII manner in brick and stone and is, I incline to think, an early work of Mansart.¹ There can be little doubt that Mansart did a great deal of work of which no record remains to us, and that the buildings known to be by him are probably not a tithe of what he actually did, for, at any rate till the catastrophe of the Val de Grâce, Mansart was constantly employed by some of the most important people in France.

¹ Perrault says he designed the gardens and exterior of Gevres-en-Brie ("Les Hommes Illustres," 208).

² An inscription over a door in the left-hand wing of the forecourt front states that Daubeuf was built in 1629 by Charles de Auben and Louise de Brie, his wife. In the pediments of the centre bays is the rather arrogant motto: "Pereat nomen peribit honor," but these pediments are possibly not original. The bold entrance archway to the avenue has a segmental cornice with horizontal returns which recalls the treatment of the chapel at Cany, and certain features in the Church of S. Marie in the Rue St. Antoine.

CHAPTER XIX

FRANÇOIS MANSART (*continued*)

OF the hotels in Paris that Mansart designed our knowledge rests on what can be gleaned from Blondel's "Architecture Française," and Marot's engravings.¹ Mansart himself seems to have been much too modest a man to publish his own designs. Le Muet, Cottard, and Anthoine Le Pautre did not hesitate to do so, but Mansart had no capacity for self-advertisement, and possessed few of the qualities that make the successful man. As with Inigo Jones, his reputation has to rest on a few fragments only of what he did, but in his case too they are fragments of inimitable excellence. One of his earliest domestic works in Paris appears to have been the transformation of the Hôtel Carnavalet. This hotel was built in the sixteenth century,² probably by Jean Bullant for the Président des Ligneris. The President's son sold it to Françoise de la Baune, Dame de Carnavalet, and the house

¹ The following is a list of the hotels in Paris by François Mansart given by Marot and Blondel.

A. Le Petit Marot.

1. The house of the Commandeur du Jars, or "du Gert." Plan, two sections, three elevations.
2. Hôtel d'Aumont. Plan, three elevations, one section.
3. Hôtel d'Argouge, otherwise Carnavalet. Plan, section, three elevations, as it was before Mansart's alterations.

B. Le Grand Marot.

4. Hôtel Carnavalet (see above).
5. Hôtel de la Vrillière (or Toulouse).
6. Hôtel de Conti, or Hôtel de Guenegaud. Entrance.

C. Blondel, "Architecture Française."

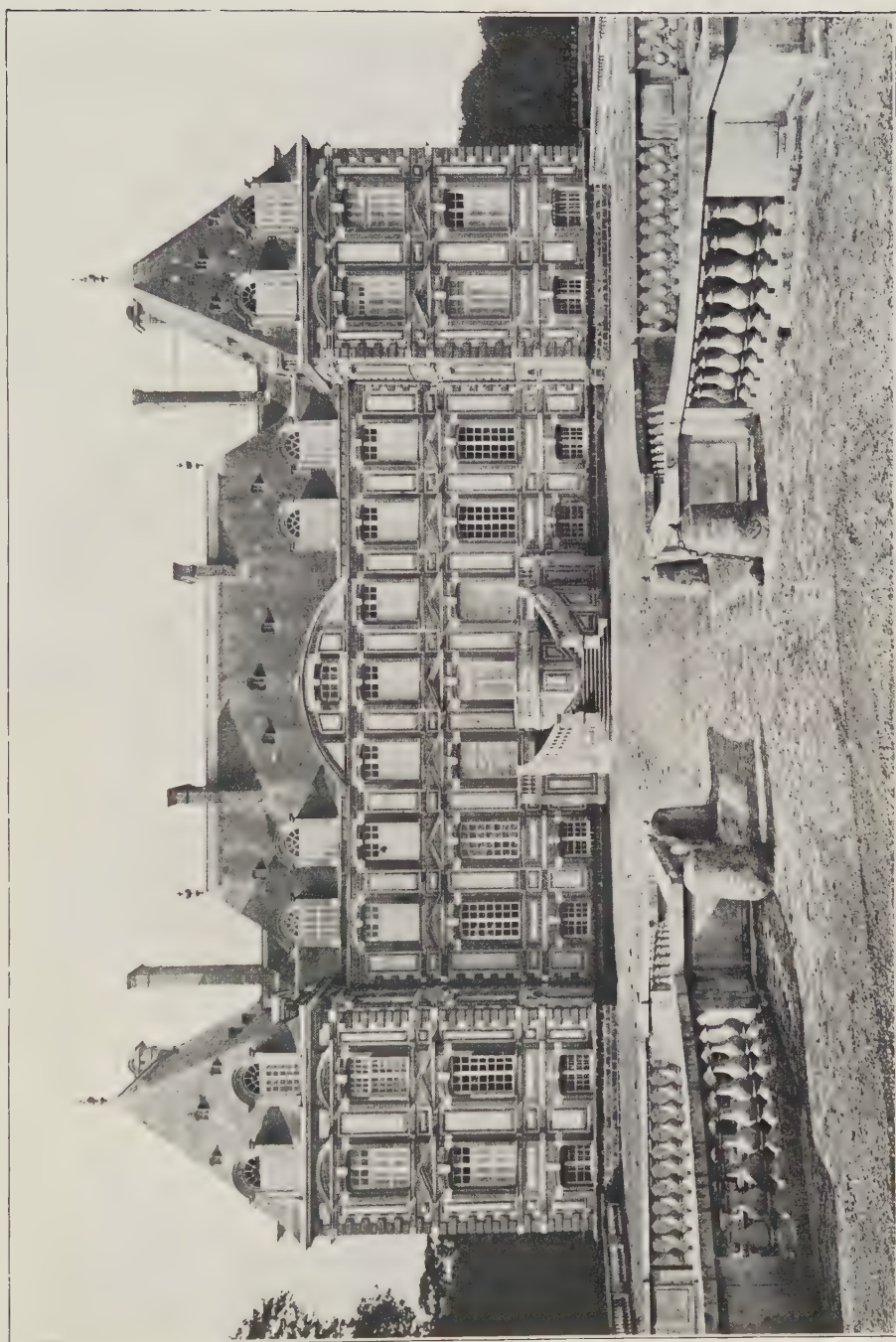
7. Hôtel de Conti, or Guenegaud.
8. Hôtel d'Aumont } from Marot.
9. Hôtel Carnavalet }
10. Hôtel de Toulouse, originally de la Vrillière.
11. Maison de Senozan, originally Hôtel de Jars.

² Blondel, "Arch. Franç.," ii. "Cet hôtel jusqu'en 1578 porta le nom du Président des Ligneris, qui l'avait fait bâtir sur les desseins de Jacques Androuet du Cerceau et de Jean Bullant."

has borne her name ever since. At some period in the seventeenth century, however, it was known as the Hôtel d'Argouge, and it is so described in the engravings of the Petit Marot. In Marot's plates the building is shown as consisting of a rectangular block with an interior court 64 ft. by 54 ft. The entrance was from the Rue de Sevigné under a barrel vaulted archway to the court. To the right and left were rooms with newel staircases to the upper floor; and to the right again, treated as part of the façade, were the stables with eight stalls and a coach-house communicating with the main court, and having on the street side a separate arched entrance on the extreme right. On the left-hand side of the court was an open arcade in five bays with balustrades, and above this was the gallery. Mansart altered this part in order to obtain a balance with the other two sides; unfortunately his sculptor was unable to match the original figures, though these are by no means worthy of Goujon.¹ To the right, and beyond the coach-house, was the grand staircase, 20 ft. by 18 ft., approached from a vestibule 20 ft. by 12 ft.² The principal rooms occupied the further side of the court, arranged *en suite*, and chiefly noticeable for a circular room, 22 ft. in diameter, with six niches, and four openings, a most unusual feature in a plan of that date, so unusual, in fact, that I incline to think the plan must have been altered after Bullant's death by Jean du Cerceau, whom Blondel has probably wrongly described as Jacques. The elevations were, as usual, treated with separate pavilion roofs, that is, each section of the building had its roof to itself, joining the adjacent roofs at the lower part only and not having continuous ridges. This was a survival of the older roof, framed with small timber scantlings, but it was a costly arrangement owing to the labour entailed in fixing all the hips and valleys and gutters, and unsatisfactory in outline as it rendered any length of line impossible. On the street façade the old elevation was extraordinarily ugly. On either side of the centre entrance were pavilions in three storeys, and above the plinth the walls were divided into four compartments by bands and stringcourses, in each of the two lower divisions were oblong windows crowded in between the strings, and above were great staring dormers, breaking through the eaves in the bad manner of Bullant and terminating in

¹ Blondel believed eight of the twelve figures to be by Goujon, and says "les huit de Goujon sont autant de chefs d'œuvres pour la beauté, l'expression, et le choix des attitudes." "*Indignor, quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*"

² The staircase, which appears to have been very elaborate, the circular room, and the stables, have all disappeared in the present Galleries.



[N. D. photo.]

CHÂTEAU DE CANY: SAINT-VALÉRY-EN-CAUX (P. 118)



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Toises

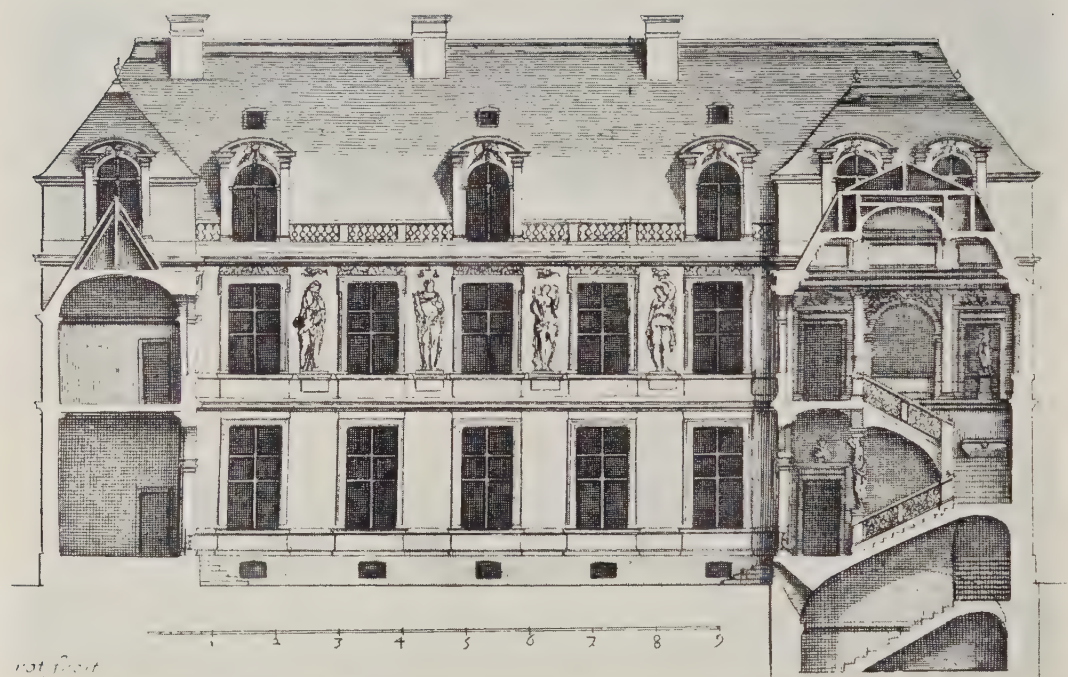
FRONT ELEVATION

[Marot



GROUND PLAN

HÔTEL D'ARGOUGE *ou* CARNAVALET (P. 120)
(PRIOR TO MANSART'S ALTERATIONS)



HÔTEL D'ARGOUGE *or* CARNAVALET (P. 120)
(SECTION THROUGH PRINCIPAL COURT)

segmental pediments. Three similar dormers appeared in the recessed bay above the central entrance.

Mansart's treatment of the façade is one of the most suggestive episodes in French domestic architecture in the seventeenth century. He left the central entrance absolutely as it was on account of Jean Goujon's sculpture. "If," says Blondel, "Mansart's great capacity were not known throughout all Europe, the care that he took to preserve the masterpieces of Jean Goujon would have been enough to render eternal the memory of this illustrious man." Blondel felt very strongly on the subject of French architecture and ancient buildings. That reckless logic which leads the modern French architect to remove everything that stands in the way of his preconceived idea of what the old building may have been hundreds of years ago, or might be if he had had the handling of it from the first, appears to have been not less mischievous in the eighteenth century than it is at the present day. "How many architects," says Blondel, "far inferior to Mansart, have buried admirable work in oblivion, from fear that it might destroy their own productions, or from some ridiculous vanity of supposing that any thing not carried out in their time and under their own orders was not worth preservation?" These words were written over a hundred and fifty years ago, yet for twenty or thirty years in the last century Viollet le Duc was rampant in France, palming off on a credulous public quite hypothetical versions of mediaeval architecture, and reducing that great art to mere histrionics. Architects in England were no better, and it is only now that the mischief has been done that some sense has been awakened of the value of genuine ancient monuments, and people have begun to realize that an ancient monument handled in the manner of Viollet le Duc, *ipso facto* ceases to be an ancient monument. One has far more sympathy with the direct brutality of the architect of the seventeenth or eighteenth century than with the shallow sentimentalism of his successor in the nineteenth. The seventeenth-century man, unless he was a sensitive artist like Mansart, altered, demolished, and rebuilt in happy unconsciousness that he was doing anything in the least unreasonable. He believed in his own tradition, and what more natural than to act on that belief? The results were certainly alarming. The twirligigs and frillings of Boffrand's choir stalls hardly suit the sombre dignity of Notre Dame, but at any rate there was here no pretence or affectation of righteousness. If later generations disliked such work they could remove it, and matters stood as they were. But the restorers of the nineteenth century had the effrontery to persuade

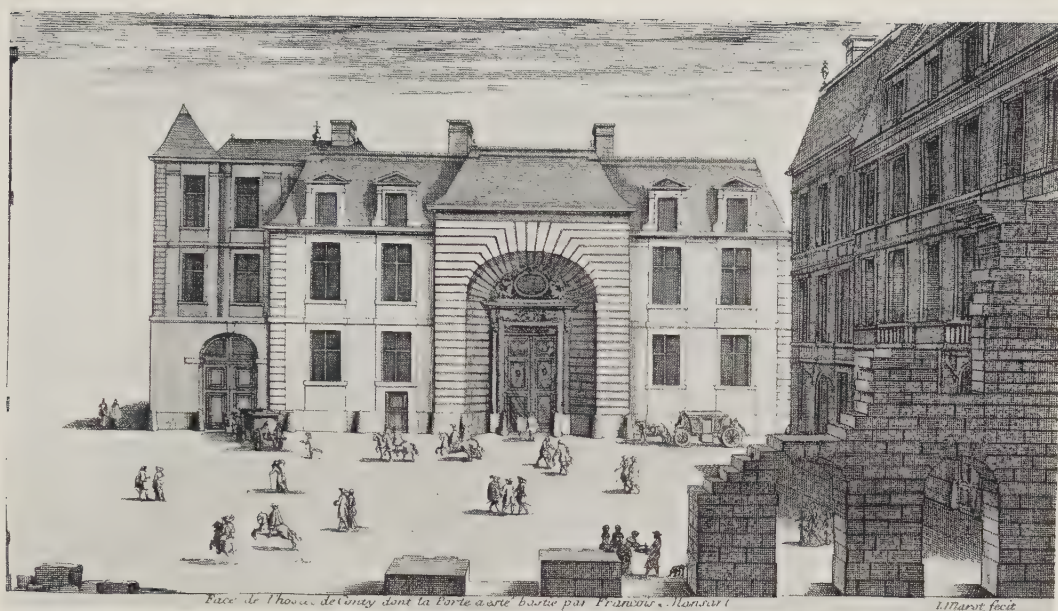
the public that they were giving them the very thing itself, the ancient mediaeval monument purified of later excrescences, omitting to inform the public that a great part of what they were handing over was their own work, and that to make way for this work they had swept away features of the last three centuries which had become an inseparable element in the life and history of the building itself.

Mansart was too fine an artist, too genuine in his own enthusiasm for architecture, to play any such tricks with the Hôtel Carnavalet. He religiously preserved the central entrance on account of its sculpture, but he dealt with the rest of the façade in a drastic and masterly fashion. There can be little doubt that the façade, as Bullant and Du Cerceau left it, was clumsy and ill considered. Mansart swept away all the windows and dormers, substituted in the end pavilions single windows with rustications on the ground floor and pairs of Ionic pilasters in the second floor, and carried an Ionic entablature the full length of the façade broken only by the pediments over the pavilion bays. The details throughout are of admirable refinement.¹ The only weak part in the design is the separation of the roofs, a practice to which, for some unintelligible reason, Mansart persistently adhered.

The Hôtel Conti² stood on the site of the Hôtel de la Monnaie. It was first known as the Hôtel de Nevers, then as the Hôtel de Guenegaud, the secretary of state who employed Mansart, and who ultimately exchanged this house with the Princesse de Conti for a house on the Quai Malaquais. Mansart carried out considerable alterations and additions here, but Blondel's engraving of the entrance is all that is now known of his work. It was a remarkable design, no orders or pedestals, merely a deep recess in a rusticated wall with an elliptical head, in which was set the entrance, a rectangular doorway with a cornice on consoles, above which was a cartouche supported by figures of two boys. A modillion cornice and slate roof covered in the top. The entrance was much esteemed by the connoisseurs for its simplicity,

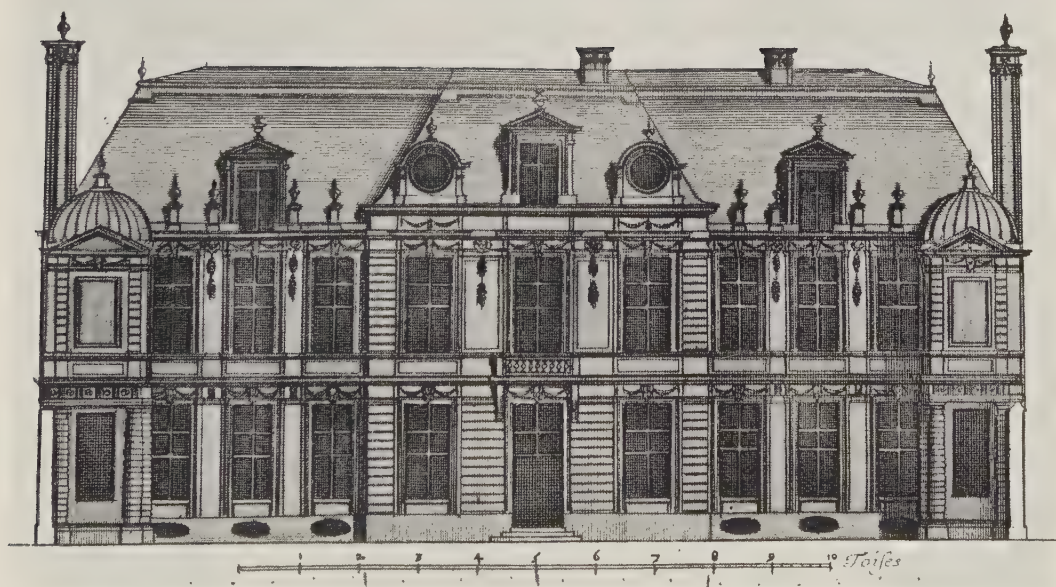
¹ Blondel says, of his own engravings, "on y remarque, trop indistinctement, ce coulant, ce gracieux, et tout ensemble cette fermeté, qu'un sçavant architecte et qu'un habile sculpteur sçaurâit allier dans leur compositions," and he adds that it is for this reason that those who hope to practise architecture ought to verify their reading by the study of masterpieces on the spot. Most of the bad work in modern architecture is due to the student's neglect of this golden rule.

² In Blondel's time it was proposed to build a Hôtel de Ville on the site of this house. The proposal was not carried out, but in 1771 it was pulled down, and the Hôtel de la Monnaie built on its site. Pascal and Guadet say that at the end of the Impasse de Conti two pavilions and one or two details of the old Hôtel still remain.



Face de l'hôtel de Conti dont la porte a été bastie par François Mansart

THE HÔTEL CONTI (P. 122)



THE HÔTEL D'AUMONT (P. 123)

its fine scale and proportion. Mansart was an original thinker in architecture; here as elsewhere in his work he anticipated the grand manner of the Academicians of Louis XIV.

The Hôtel d'Aumont is still standing in the Rue de Jouy, and is occupied by the Pharmacie Centrale de France.¹ This hotel was built in 1648-9 for Michel Antoine Scarron. Blondel, who reproduces Marot's plates, adds that they show the building in the state it was before it was altered by François Mansart, who, according to Blondel, only added a grand staircase which has since disappeared. M. Sellier discovered a contract, dated 4th May 1649, under which Scarron's son-in-law, afterwards the Duc d'Aumont, paid over a sum of 30,000 livres, which was to cover payments to Michel Villedo, a well-known contractor of the time, and others, and a payment of 204 livres to Louis le Vau, Architecte du Roi, for plans and designs. M. Sellier's explanation is that Le Vau designed the entrance façade to the Rue de Jouy and the two sides to the court, but that Mansart designed the principal block of buildings opposite the entrance, and facing to the gardens. The entry quoted is circumstantial enough, but there are difficulties in the way. In the first place, the Duc d'Aumont did not get possession of the house till 1656, after the death of his father-in-law, and in the contract the house is described as consisting of "plusieurs bastiments, corps de logis, grand court, escurie, offices, caves, cuisine," etc., all of which tally exactly with the building as shown in Marot's prints, which include the main block (corps de logis). Moreover, the Duke did not begin his purchases of additional property till 1662,² and these purchases were not completed when he died in 1669. Mansart was quite out of favour in the latter years of his life, and it is improbable that he would have been employed after the death of Mazarin, with whom he was identified by the Cardinal's enemies. Then there is the amount paid to Le Vau; 204 livres as a commission on 30,000 livres would have been quite inadequate if Le Vau had designed and carried through the building; according to modern notions he would have received at least 1,500 livres.³ It is possible that Le Vau prepared the

¹ See Sellier, "Anciens Hôtels de Paris," 160-256, for a detailed account of this building. It was in a house on this site that Richelieu was born in the year 1585.

² *Ibid.*, 199, *et seq.*

³ Sauval, "Hist. et Antiquités," ii, 157, says the Maréchal d'Aumont had two houses, one in the Rue de Jouy (the one described in the text) the other in the Place Royale. The latter, he says, though the smaller of the two, was "un bijou." It had a Salon à l'Italienne, designed by Le Vau, enriched with figures and ornaments by Van Obstal, and painted by Vouet. It was lighted by two tiers of windows, one above the other. The chimney-piece

first design, but was superseded by Mansart, and received this exiguous fee in payment for his rejected design. M. Sellier finds a technical difference between the three sides of the court and the principal block; I could find no such difference when I examined the building. Le Vau's touch was heavy and commonplace, there is no comparing it with Mansart's refined and sensitive design, and on the evidence of the building itself it appears to me that Blondel was wrong in saying that Marot's plates show the building before Mansart touched it, and that on the contrary they show it as it was actually carried out from Mansart's designs. Daviler, to whom Blondel refers, expressly mentions the entrance of this Hôtel d'Aumont as having been designed by Mansart;¹ and on the other hand, the grand staircase to which Blondel refers as by François Mansart is actually, in Daviler, a grand staircase at the Château of St. Cloud, erected from the design of Jules Hardouin Mansart,² at least twenty years later.

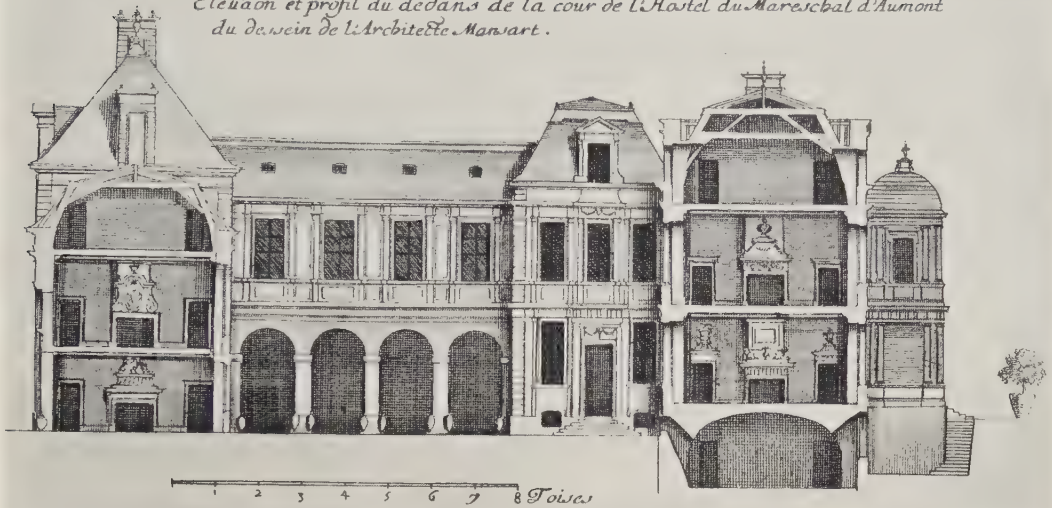
I take, then, the design of the Hôtel d'Aumont to have been by François Mansart, and to have been made soon after 1650. It is characteristic of Mansart at his best. He relied for his main effect on spacing, rhythm, and proportion, for details he used rustications, austere simple but perfectly adequate mouldings, and a delicate manner of surface reliefs in the slightly raised panels, handled indeed in a way that no other French architect has ever reached in the absolute justice of their values. The carved ornament consists of masks, swags, and

was in stucco and gold, with a vaulted ceiling, and an alcove on which Bouret, one of the most excellent wood carvers of the time, had lavished all his skill. By a skilful arrangement of mirrors it was possible to see all that was passing in this salon. Vouet was also said by Blondel to have painted the ceiling of the Hôtel d'Aumont in the Rue de Jouy. Blondel reproduced Marot's prints without acknowledgement, and it appears from his brief note that he knew very little about the house. It is quite possible that Blondel has confused the two accounts.

¹ Daviler, "Cours d'architecture," i, 116 (ed. 1710): "si la vue est étroite, prendre la Porte dans un renforcement au mur de face, comme feu Monsieur Mansart l'a pratiqué à l'Hôtel d'Aumont, Rue de Jouy."

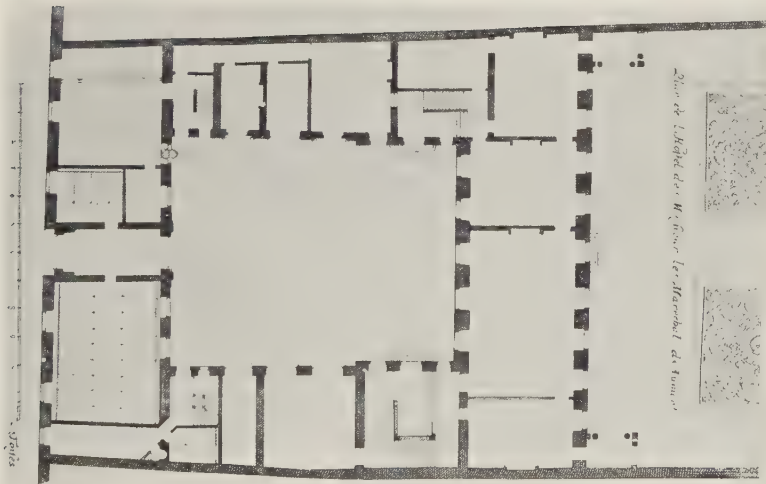
² *Ibid.*, i, 5, 17. M. Sellier asks, not unnaturally, what has become of this staircase, and seems to think that D'Argenville refers to it in the following century. D'Argenville says "L'Hôtel d'Aumont, Rue de Jouy, a été bâti par François Mansart. L'escalier est remarquable, le vestibule qui lui sert d'entrée est décoré d'un ordre Dorique d'une élégante proportion. Ce même ordre . . . dans un peristyle qui précède cet escalier, et rend l'abord des plus riches, et le fait paraître plus grand" ("Voyage Pittoresque," 215). There is no sign left of the vestibule or of the peristyle, but D'Argenville was the most careless of writers, and his "Voyage Pittoresque" must only be taken as the most summary of guide books. His principal object was to inform visitors of the churches and houses in which pictures and sculpture were to be found, and what they would find there.

*Élévation et profil du dedans de la cour de l'Hôtel du Maréchal d'Aumont
du dessin de l'Architecte Marot.*



Marot

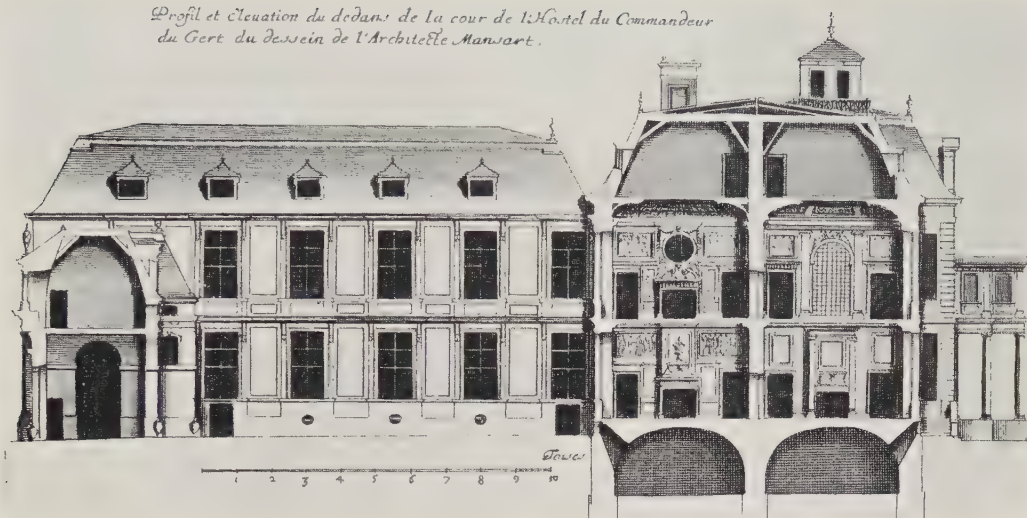
SECTION



GROUND PLAN

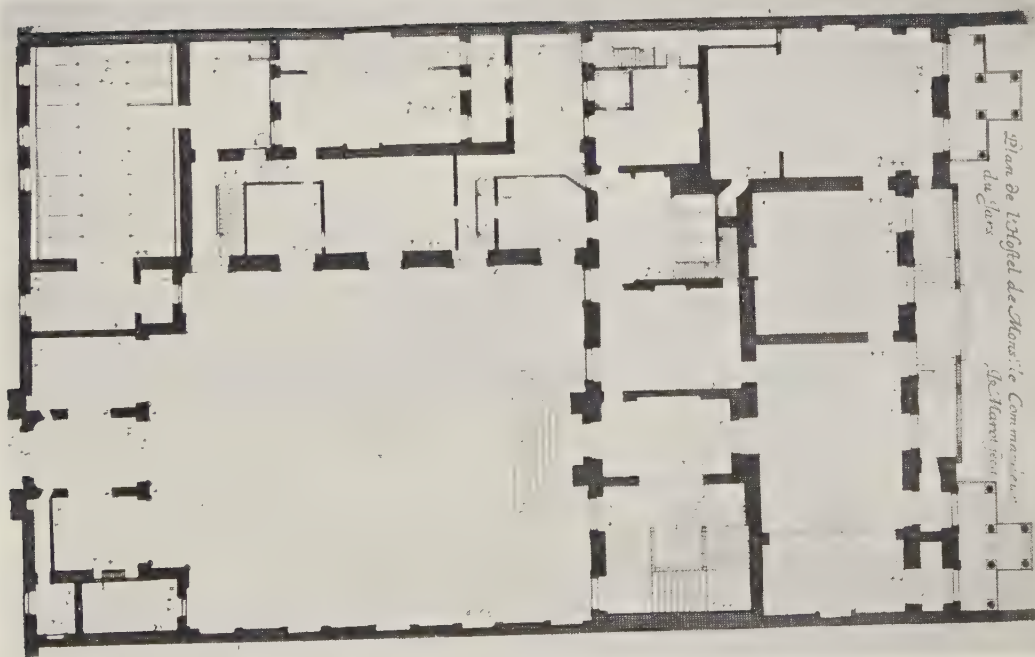
THE HÔTEL D'AUMONT (P. 123)

*Profil et élévation du dedans de la cour de l'Hôtel du Commandeur
du Gert du dessin de l'Architecte Mansart.*



[Mansart]

SECTION



GROUND PLAN

THE HÔTEL DU JARS or DU GERT (P. 125)

drapery, used with a sparing hand, but placed where they are wanted. Mansart exactly appreciated the relations of sculpture and architecture. He never used sculpture or ornament for the sake of using it. If he wanted to emphasize some passage in his design, to heighten the note, or raise the pitch, then he had recourse to the sculptor, using only the very best of its kind, and staying his hand directly the purpose for which the ornament was wanted was accomplished. It is here in particular that his fine technique is apparent. Wren, a man of greater natural genius, but to a large extent an amateur in training, often failed rather badly with his ornament. It is not that it was not good, Grinling Gibbons and his men were excellent sculptors and carvers, but there was too much of it. Wren seems on occasion to have allowed himself to be carried away by his sculptor's exuberance. Mansart, clear-headed, logical, and master of his art in every detail, knew exactly how far he meant his ornament to go and where he meant it to stop.

The Hôtel d'Aumont is the more valuable in that the Hôtel de Jars, a very important house, has entirely disappeared. François de Rochechouart de Jars, Chevalier of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and Commandeur de Lagny, was a well-known man about the Court, who in 1633 nearly lost his life in an intrigue of Madame de Chevreuse against Richelieu,¹ and flits through the memoirs of the time in an inconsequent way. His house, in the Rue Richelieu, was built about 1650.² As usual, the entrance from the street passed under a low two-storey building into a rectangular court measuring 67 ft. by 60 ft. On the right hand there were no buildings, only a low boundary wall which, as Sauval remarked, was admirable until the adjoining owner proceeded to build on his ground and blocked the light

¹ The Chevalier was condemned to death and was only pardoned on the scaffold (see Mariéjol, "Hist. de France," ed. Lavissee, vi, 2, 442). Madame de Motteville had a high opinion of the Chevalier but considered him rash and impetuous. De Retz in his *Memoirs* (ed. Paris, 1909, 130-131) tells a characteristic story of the Chevalier and his friends, who, in order to show their support of Mazarin, were in the habit of having supper and music on the terrace of a well-known inn overlooking the gardens of the Tuileries, and drinking the Mazarin's health in full view of the public. De Retz accordingly arranged with M. de Beaufort and others to break up the party. De Beaufort was to insult the Marquis de Jaurzé, the leader of the party, De Retz arguing that if the worst came to the worst De Jaurzé could only bring an action, which would have no result, as De Jaurzé was nobody. Unfortunately M. de Beaufort, who was famous for his want of tact, began the proceedings by pulling off the tablecloth and upsetting the tables, the fiddles were broken on the heads of the players, and the Commandeur de Jars was bonneted with the soup-tureen.

² Blondel, iii, 78. In Blondel's time it was known as the Hôtel de Senozan, the Receiver-General of the clergy of France, who bought the house in 1714.

and air. On the left hand was a range of buildings in two storeys with dormers on the mansard roof, at the back of which were two smaller courts for light and air. Next the party wall and on the front to the street were stables for nineteen horses.¹ The main block was on the further side of the court with the entrance in the centre into a vestibule which led to a fine suite of rooms on the back or garden side, and on the right hand side opened through an archway on to the principal staircase, which appears from Sauval's account to have been one of those marvels of masonry which were now coming into fashion, carried on flying arches without any columns or any supports except the walls and the arches of the outer strings of the staircase. "Les arcs et les voûtes dont elles sont soutenues, roulent, tournent, et montent fort lentement, . . . toutes ces pièces sont mariées fort agréablement les uns avec les autres, et menées en l'air autour de la cage, par des pierres gauchées,² sans plis ou coude ni aucune ligne, soit droite ou parallèle." The stairs were designed by Mansart, but all the setting-out was done by a famous mason, Simon Lambert.³ The balustrade was of wrought iron, executed by Charles le Lorrain to Mansart's design. From Sauval's account this must have anticipated the ironwork of the reign of Louis XIV. It was divided into panels with borders, and the design consisted of curves engaged with one another "avec ordre et confusion tout ensemble," "the curves growing into grains and leaves, finishing in flowers, forming ovals and ellipses of every kind and shape, yet gracious, fanciful and entirely "spirituelles," an excellent description of most of the wrought ironwork of the latter part of the seventeenth century. In the angles of the staircase were four trompes, curving out to the circle on which the dome and its cupola were formed. Round the base of this cupola Perrier painted children "throwing down roses and flowers on those who passed up and down the staircase."

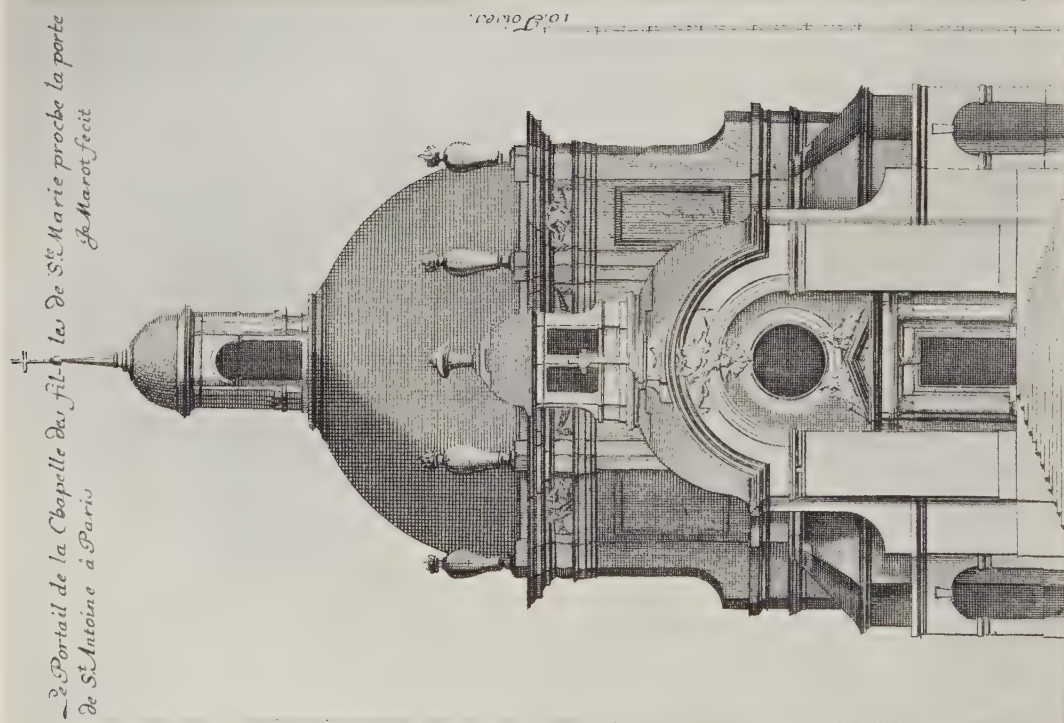
Mansart's design was freely and somewhat unfavourably criticized. On the garden front, for no apparent reason, he formed at each end small loggias carrying galleries, which blocked the light in both storeys where it was most wanted.⁴ Certain details of the entrance were condemned as not in accordance with Vitruvius and Scamozzi, but

¹ As the stables were only $36\frac{3}{4}$ ft. long, the stalls only measured by scale 3 ft. 8 in. from centre to centre! The back courts were only 18 ft. wide.

² "Gauchées," not parallel. "On dit que le parement d'une pierre est gauchée lorsqu'en le tornoyant ses angles et ses côtes ne paroissent pas sur une même ligne."—Daviler.

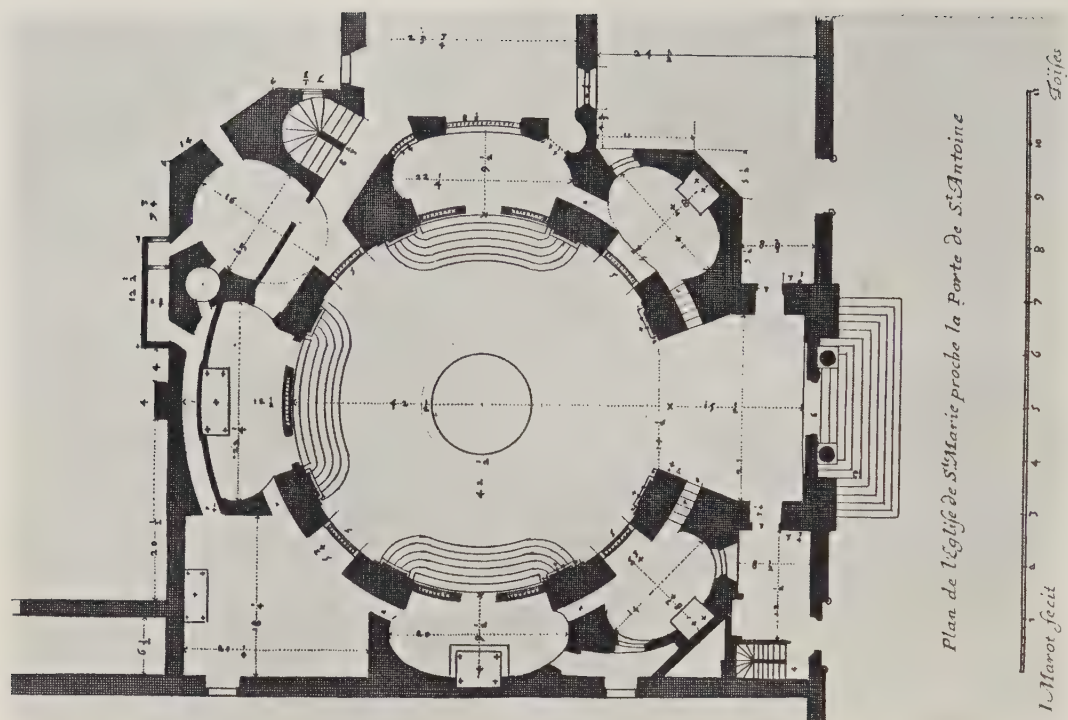
³ Sauval, ii, 208.

⁴ When De Senozan bought the house these were removed.



ELEVATION TO STREET

THE CHURCH OF STE. MARIE IN THE RUE ST. ANTOINE (P. 127)



GROUND PLAN

Sauval, who was a generous and discriminating critic, says that everyone would acknowledge the majesty of the entrance, the beauty of the staircase, the grandeur and propriety of the principal rooms. Blondel speaks of this building with unreserved admiration. In his own day, when taste was degenerating, he held it up to his students as a model of what could be done by simple means without recourse to that complexity of design and prodigality of ornament which was the prevailing fashion of his time. The house was destroyed in 1831.

Mansart's incontestable superiority over his colleagues is more evident in his church work than it is in his houses. Where Lemercier's design was able but tentative and not entirely successful, Mansart comes in as a master, the man who completely realizes his idea, with no suggestion of failure and with no apparent effort. In actual fact no artist ever studied and re-studied his designs more anxiously than Mansart, but there is no evidence of this in his work. It has the complete and inevitable unity which is reserved for the work of genius.

Mansart's first venture in church design had been the entrance to the Feuillants. In 1632 he was called in to design the Church of Les Filles de la Visitation de Ste. Marie in the Rue St. Antoine,¹ now used as a Protestant Church. The plan and the treatment of the interior are perhaps the most original design in church architecture ever made in France. The conditions to be complied with were peculiar, as the church had to be placed on a site practically square, with its main entrance from the Rue St. Antoine on the north side, and it had to be connected with the Choir of the Sisterhood on the west side,² which again had to be screened off from the main body of the church. Mansart's solution was to plan a central space, 42 ft. 6 in. in diameter, round which were ranged the chapels, raised above the floor of the central space by seven steps. The high altar was in a recess opposite the main entrance. On the axial line, east and west, were two similar recesses, in the north-east and north-west angles were two oval chapels, to the south-west was an oval chapel, and to the south-east a chapel rectangular in plan except on the side next the circular space in the centre. Round this space and between the openings to the chapels are eight Corinthian pilasters, 2 ft. 9 in. in diameter, carrying an entablature with a modillion cornice, in which the usual upper ogee member is omitted. The dome, which

¹ The Community of the Filles de la Visitation was founded by St. François de Sales in 1610. The Community moved to Paris in 1619, and in 1628 bought the Hôtel de Cossé in the Rue St. Antoine.

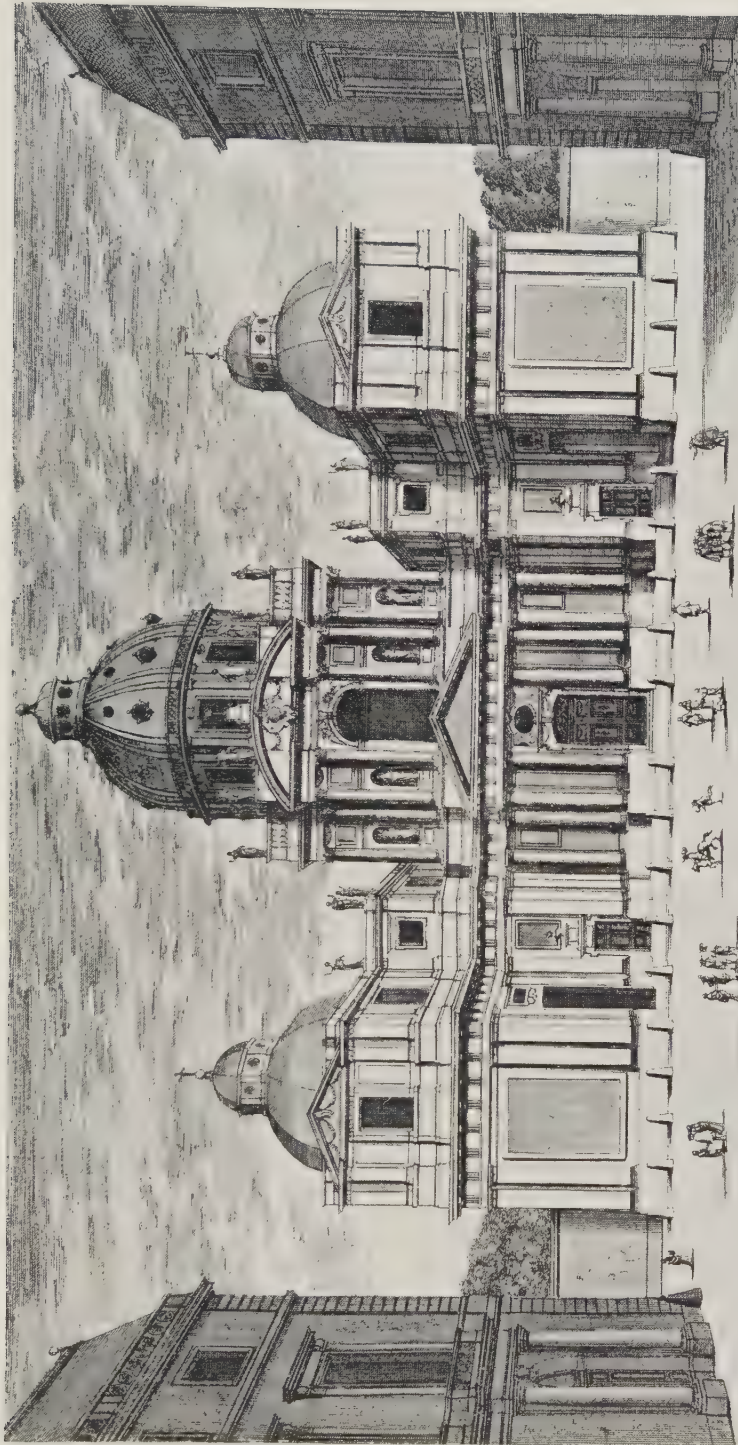
² Sauval, i, 440, says: "L'harmonie du Bâtiment est bien posée, et harmonieusement disposée pour les voix."

rises directly from the main entablature without any drum, is panelled with bold ribs and cartouches, and above is a lantern or cupola originally decorated with painting. The floor is paved with black and white marble in quarries radiating from the centre. Before its conversion into a Protestant Church all the openings to the chapels had balustrades of bronze and black marble, in excellent contrast with the severe white of the stone. In its present state the church is neglected and almost shabby, but Mansart's genius emerges triumphant notwithstanding. The fine technique, the resolute simplicity of treatment, the very clever and effective lighting, screened as it is behind the openings to the chapels, yet ample for its purpose, the perfectly adjusted scale and proportion, give to what is quite a small building a certain heroic dignity, and render the interior of St. Marie one of the finest examples of its kind in the whole range of Renaissance architecture. Blondel, ii, 131, says: "On remarque dans ce monument une fermeté dans les profils, et une accord dans les parties, qui annoncent le goût solide et nourri que François Mansart a sçu répandre dans toutes ses productions," but criticizes, "l'air de pesanteur qui regne ici." Blondel himself, though he reprobated the trivialities of his own time, could not get away from them, and they colour this criticism. Much as he admired François Mansart, he could not always stay at the level of that great and masculine genius.

The exterior of St. Marie, though it has many fine qualities, is less happy. The main entrance, set in a recess, dwarfs the scale, and the lower part of the fabric is not sufficiently built up to support the massive treatment of the central dome. Though the church was universally admired, it is curious to note the critical standpoint of the eighteenth century. The defects of the exterior did not, of course, escape Blondel's notice, but he directs his criticism chiefly at the architect's failure to observe the "convenances" in having designed so masculine a building for a religious sisterhood.

In 1611 the Church of the Minimes¹ near the Place Royale was begun, from funds supplied by Marie de Médicis and others. It was a part only of a great religious establishment, and was not in fact completed

¹ The church was built on part of the old gardens of the Hôtel des Tournelles. A full account of its monuments and its chapels is given in Piganiol de la Force, "Descr. de Paris," iv, 437-471. MM. Pascal and Guadet say that the church was destroyed about 1795. Sauval, i, 443, gives a few notes as to the contents of the church, and says that the chapels were enclosed with iron grilles, very well made, the only example of the kind in Paris. These were probably by François Mansart, who seems to have anticipated most of the favourite motives of the architecture of Louis XIV.



Face de l'Eglise des Minimes batie du oüant du S^r Mansart Jusques au premier ordre

J. Marot

THE CHURCH OF THE MINIMS (P. 128)
(MANSART, ARCHITECT)

till 1679. At some period, the date of which is not known, Mansart was employed to complete the church. His scheme included a central part in two storeys, flanked on either side by lower buildings in advance of the centre façade, with two-storey pavilions with cupolas, standing well in front of the centre. Over the crossing of the church was to be a dome with a cupola raised on a drum, with engaged Ionic pilasters. The entire building has now disappeared, and can only be estimated from Marot's perspective view, and Blondel's elevation of the part actually carried out. The details show Mansart's habitual mastery. As to the general conception it is impossible to say how much of the perspective is Marot, and how much of it is Mansart, for it is by no means a happy composition. The sides from above the main entablature have little relation to the centre, and the dome and cupola are extraordinarily ugly. It is improbable that Marot's perspective represents Mansart's design as he would have realized it himself.

Mansart's last and greatest work was his design for the Val de Grâce. It was also the turning point of his career and the tragic disappointment of his life; for Mansart had only carried his building nine feet up from the floor of the church when he was superseded by Lemer cier.¹ Anne of Austria, who twenty years before had established the monastery of Val de Grâce in Paris, had registered a vow to build a magnificent church on the birth of the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XIV). On the death of Louis XIII she had designs prepared by François Mansart for the building of the church and the rebuilding of the monastery, and the first stone was laid by Louis XIV, then a child seven years old, in 1645. Mansart appears to have remained in charge for about a year, when he was superseded by Lemer cier, and on the death of the latter by Le Muet.² Mansart's design, however, was

¹ Blondel, ii, 62. Piganiol de la Force, i, 77, says that the Abbey had originally been established at Bièvre le Châlet, three leagues from Paris. Anne of Austria moved it to Paris about 1621, and in 1627 she had some buildings erected here, driven thereto, says Piganiol, by the neglect of her ill-conditioned husband in order that she might have some place to retire to "où elle pût trouver, au pied de la crosse, une paix et une satisfaction qu'elle ne trouvait point sur la terre."

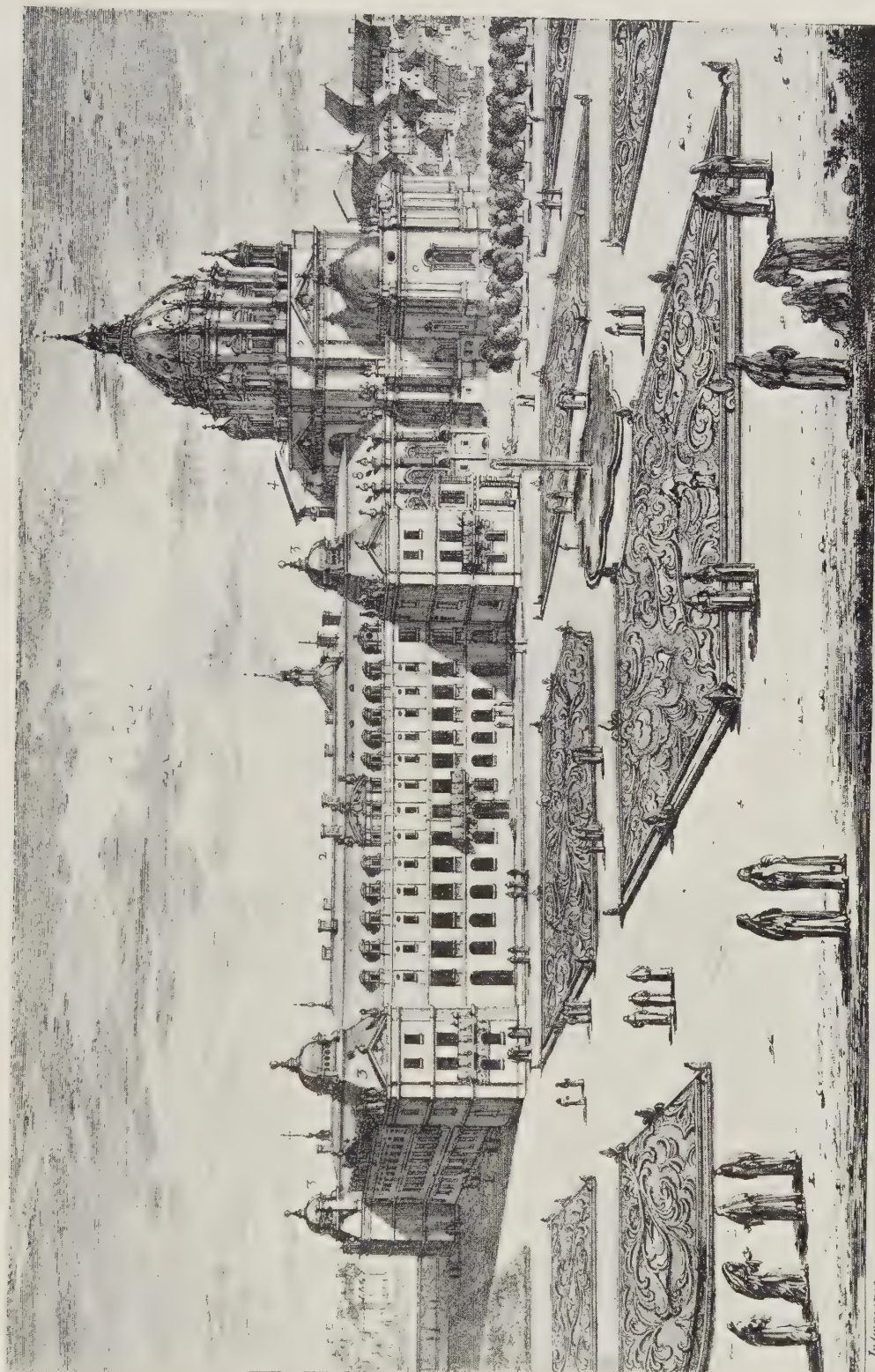
² Piganiol de la Force, vi, 185-218. Le Muet and Le Duc carried out the high altar with its twisted columns of Barbançon marble, and baldacchino of fine bronze gilt from a design of Bernini. The church is fully described in Piganiol. By a special privilege granted after the death of a daughter of Louis XIV, in 1662, the hearts of all members of the royal family were to be deposited in the Church of the Val de Grâce. Between 1662 and 1761 thirty-nine were deposited here in heart-shape casquets of silver-gilt surmounted by a crown. Piganiol revelled in such details.

followed throughout, with certain variations in detail, by Le Muet, by no means to its improvement.

Mansart's conception was magnificent, but on the outside at any rate a good deal injured in execution. The general idea was to treat the church as a vast monument, flanked on either side by lower buildings, and set back on the farther side of an ample forecourt about 220 ft. wide by 190 ft. deep from the grille which separated it from the Rue du Faubourg St. Jacques. In order to allow sufficient space to get back to see the building, Mansart had designed a semicircular open space on the opposite side of the street, with a pyramid and fountain set in the semicircle. This was never carried out, very greatly to the detriment of the design.¹ The church rises well above the forecourt, and is entered from a flight of sixteen steps,² originally designed with returns, but altered in execution. On the top landing, and somewhat unpleasantly crowded near the top step, rise the Corinthian columns of the frontispiece, standing clear of the main wall, and supporting an entablature and pediment. Above this, and over the centre part, rises a second order, again of Corinthian columns in pairs, three-quarter engaged, with niches between at the ends, and pilasters on either side of the centre window. The entablature returns round the engaged columns at the ends, and is surmounted by a second pediment. Large and rather awkward consoles above the ends of the chapels on either side complete the design. The consoles are repeated along the sides of the nave in a simpler form and with a different cornice, above which are projections from the parapet course supporting urns. It must be admitted that the treatment of the exterior is open to a good deal of criticism. The top landing of the great flight of stairs is too narrow, the repetition of the pediments is tedious and the details of the centre window and of the niches in the upper order are out of scale with the rest of the façade. The consoles are clumsy, and the design goes to pieces in the repetition of these along the sides of the nave. Nor can the exterior of the dome be regarded as satisfactory, except from a distance. As at the Sorbonne, the four angles of the square from which the drum of the dome rises are occupied by circular tourelles or belfries with ogee cupolas and arches separated by pilasters. The drum of the dome is cut

¹ Since Blondel wrote a street has been opened out here at right angles to the Faubourg St. Jacques, which enables the entire composition to be seen more or less as Mansart intended.

² Blondel says fifteen. There are in fact thirteen steps, and then three more between the bases of the columns.

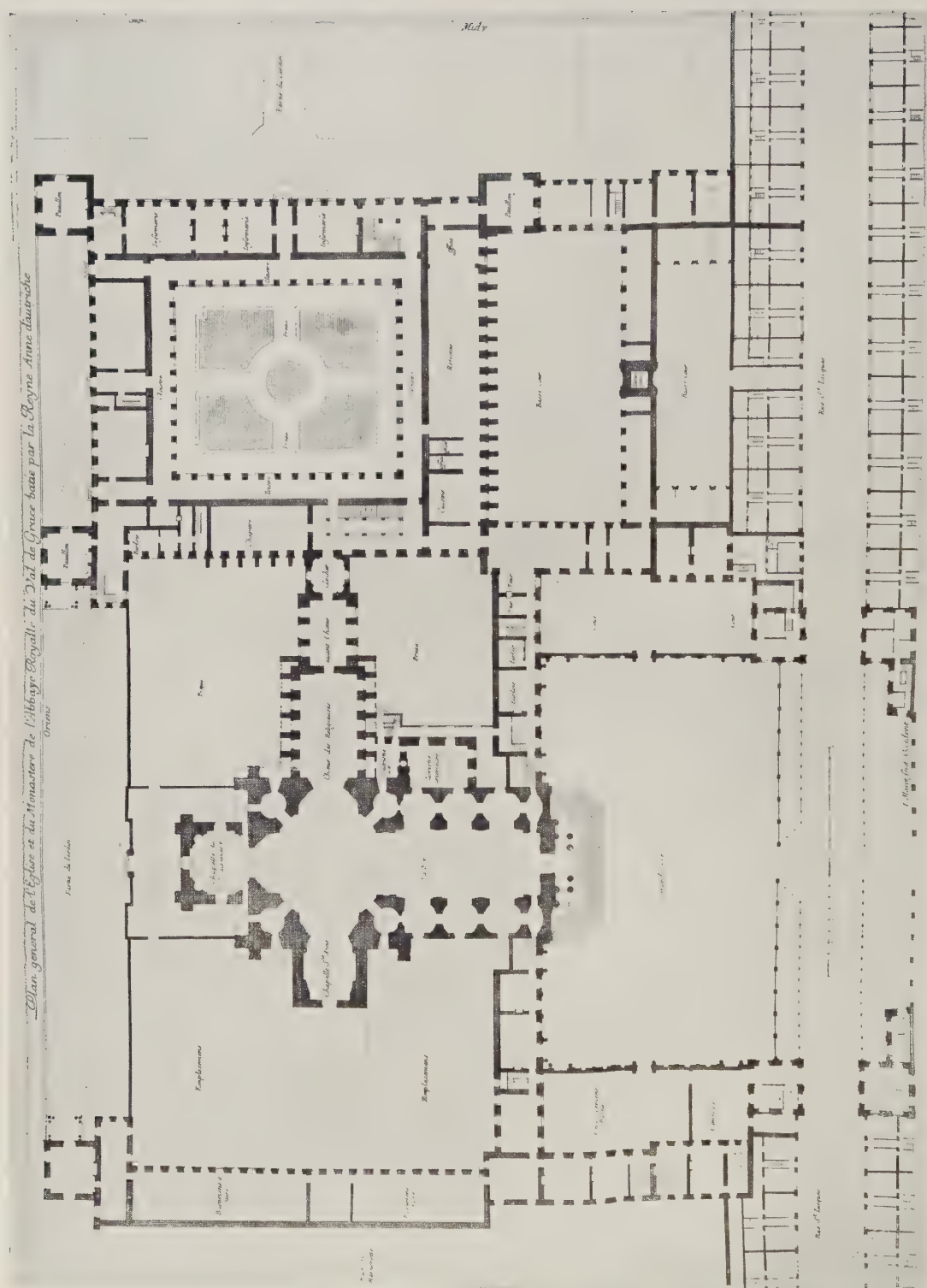


- 1 Eglise.
- 2 Cloître.
- 3 Pavillon.
- 4 Portail de l'Eglise.
- 5 Dôme et Eglise.
- 6 Chapelle du 1^{er} sacrement.
- 7 Chapelle de la Reine.
- 8 Chœur des Religieuses.

La Vue du Monastere Royal du Val de Grace, du Côté du Jardin.
A Paris chez M. Mariette rue St Jacques a la Vierge sous Privilege du Roy

[Perelle

THE MONASTERY OF THE VAL DE GRÂCE (PP. 129-131)



PLAN OF THE VAL DE GRÂCE (P. 131)

up by a succession of deep buttresses, faced with Corinthian pilasters, round which the entablature is returned, and above which are figures of boys standing in front of consoles which take the design back to the circle of the dome; but even here the designer could not stop, and must needs break his mouldings again, and place meaningless candelabra above each console, which do not clear the outer surface of the dome itself. The result of these ingenious devices is to destroy all breadth of effect and to lose the majestic sweep of the mouldings and entablature round the base of the dome, so splendidly managed by Wren at St. Paul's. All this part of the Church of the Val de Grâce seems to me second-rate work, and I do not for one moment believe that Mansart was responsible. His treatment of the dome and drum of the Church of the Visitation was very different, as severe and masculine as the dome of the Val de Grâce is fussy and affected. Either Le Muet, or more probably Le Duc, was the offender. Le Duc, who in spite of his reputation was originally a builder and an inferior architect, seems to have taken unwarrantable liberties with Mansart's design. Blondel says justly "*Il faut qu'un architecte soit citoyen,*" by which he means a loyal man and a good sportsman, "*sans cette qualité essentielle il sacrifie le bien général au plaisir de mettre au jour quelques-unes de ses productions particulières.* Le Muet, Le Duc, Le Vau, Dorbay, Du Cerceau, et peut-être Perrault, ont été dans ce cas."

The parsimony and timidity of Anne of Austria had its reward. Mansart was attacked on two grounds. In the first place he had worked for Mazarin at the Palais Mazarin, and at the time of the Fronde to be connected in any way with Mazarin was sufficient to make any Frondeur one's personal enemy, quite enough at any rate to incur the formidable enmity of such arch intriguers as the Duchesse de Chevreuse, an old friend of Anne of Austria. In the second place, he was undoubtedly extravagant. A superintendent of finance might afford to have half his house built and rebuilt without a murmur, but when Mazarin held the purse, even Anne of Austria herself was straitened. She lost her nerve, and dismissed Mansart from all further connection with the work. After that the outside was a failure. But the great quality of his design is still apparent in the interior, so lonely in its austere magnificence. Mansart was a real thinker in architecture, an idea that had once taken hold of his imagination remained with him as material to be worked upon again and again to a more complete and perfect expression. The plan of the Val de Grâce is a development on a much larger scale of that of the Church of the Visitation, with the addition of a noble nave to the west.

There are the chapels opening out of the central space, and off to the right, in the same relative position as at the Visitation, was the Choir of the Religieuses, screened off from the main body of the church. At the east end and at the back of the high altar is the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, circular in plan. This is now shut off by a rather solid enclosure, blocking up the vista that might otherwise have been obtained, and which was probably intended by Mansart, for few architects have been more keenly alive to the effects to be obtained by skilful and unusual methods of lighting. How far Mansart got with the interior is not known. The nave with its Corinthian pilasters and entablature, its barrel vault coffered and enriched, the beautifully treated side chapels raised three steps above the nave, seem to be certainly his design unaltered. The arches to these chapels are set back in a recess some six inches, and as the arches are kept low there is ample room for the fine spandril figures by Michael Anguier.¹ Blondel considered the interior the finest of its kind in France. "Tout le pavé de cette église est comparté de fort beaux marbres de différentes couleurs, sur le pavé s'élève une ambulatoire dont on ne peut trop admirer la distribution, la décoration, et l'ordonnance, et l'on peut avancer qu'il n'est peut-être pas en France d'édifice sacré dont l'aspect intérieure inspire d'avantage les fidèles pénétrées de la religion, cet amour pour la piété, ce recueillement et tout ensemble cet admiration qui généralement satisfait tous les hommes de bien, et qu'on rencontre rarement dans nos autres églises."² "Les hommes de bien" is characteristic of the eighteenth century; but the criticism does not overstate the case. The impression made by the interior is one of extraordinary dignity. It is one of that rare class of neo-classic churches which avoid on the one hand the banalities and vulgarity of the later Jesuit manner, and on the other

¹ These figures are finely designed in regard to relief, weight in the composition and scale, and are more satisfactory than the oval panels in the pendentives of the dome, also by Anguier, but probably done under Le Duc. The spandril figures are in pairs. From east to west on the south side. They are: (1) a female figure repelling Cupid, a figure with lilies and Cupid in the corner; (2) a figure with a pelican in her piety, a figure with her hand on her breast, and Cupid in the corner; (3) a figure with a skull, and a figure with the scales of justice. On the north side from west to east: (1) a figure with a bridle, and another with helmet, club, and lion's skin; (2) a figure with a palm branch and church in the corner, and a winged figure with a flaming heart on a book in her lap; (3) a figure with tables of stone in right hand, a torch and book in left, and a figure of Charity with two children. Michael Anguier was born at Eu in Normandy and died in 1686. There is a fine Amphitrite by him in the gardens of Versailles, now in the Louvre. He was the younger brother of François Anguier, and much the better sculptor of the two.

² Blondel, ii, 64.

the frigid accomplishment of pedantic classic. There is something convincing about the interior of this church. Mansart and Anguier, Anne of Austria herself, meant what they were doing. They were inspired by genuine and high ideals, and they did not fail of their purpose. It is the more to be regretted that Mansart was not allowed to carry out his noble design.

The catastrophe of the Val de Grâce seems to have been the turning-point of his career. Mansart put up a model of the church at the Château de Fresne,¹ but it must have been a poor consolation to carry out such a design on half or a third of the scale, and it is doubtful if he ever recovered from the blow. D'Argenville says that about this time (the middle of the seventeenth century) he designed the Church of St. Marie at Chaillot, originally a village outside Paris, made into a faubourg of Paris by Louis XIV.² Mansart's last appearance was some ten years later, when Colbert was considering plans for the completion of the Louvre. Mansart showed him several sketch designs, for all of which Colbert expressed his admiration, but told the architect that he must definitely fix on some one of his designs to be submitted to the King as final. "This condition," says D'Argenville, "appeared harsh to a genius accustomed to independence, and so he preferred to sacrifice such a favourable occasion for the exercise of his talents, rather than give up his freedom to change his ideas if any better occurred to him." It was a characteristic ending to a great career.

Mansart died only four years later, in 1666. His latter days were embittered by the intrigues of his enemies and rivals. He was accused of making money by robbing his clients. He was viciously attacked in a pamphlet as having been threatened with the rope at the Palais Mazarin for having nearly destroyed the building. His enemies stated that his ceilings and panelling were filled with "golifichets," and that "il n'a préparé que des nids pour les araignées au lieu de donner place, comme il le devait, a quelque excellent peintre, pour y produire quelque

¹ About twenty miles from Paris, between Claye and Meaux, now destroyed. Blondel promised full details of it in that fifth volume which was never issued. Piganiol de la Force says it was "la plus belle chose de Royaume" (ix, 243). The Château belonged to the Chancellor d'Aguessau and consisted "d'un seul corps de logis, décoré de trois ordres d'architecture," with two advanced pavilions, at the extremities of which were engaged circular towers.

² Piganiol de la Force, ii, 392, says that, in 1651, Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I, bought the house of the Maréchal de Bassompierre at Chaillot, and established here a sisterhood of the Visitation de Ste. Marie, but he says nothing about Mansart's having designed a church, and says that a church here was entirely rebuilt in 1704.

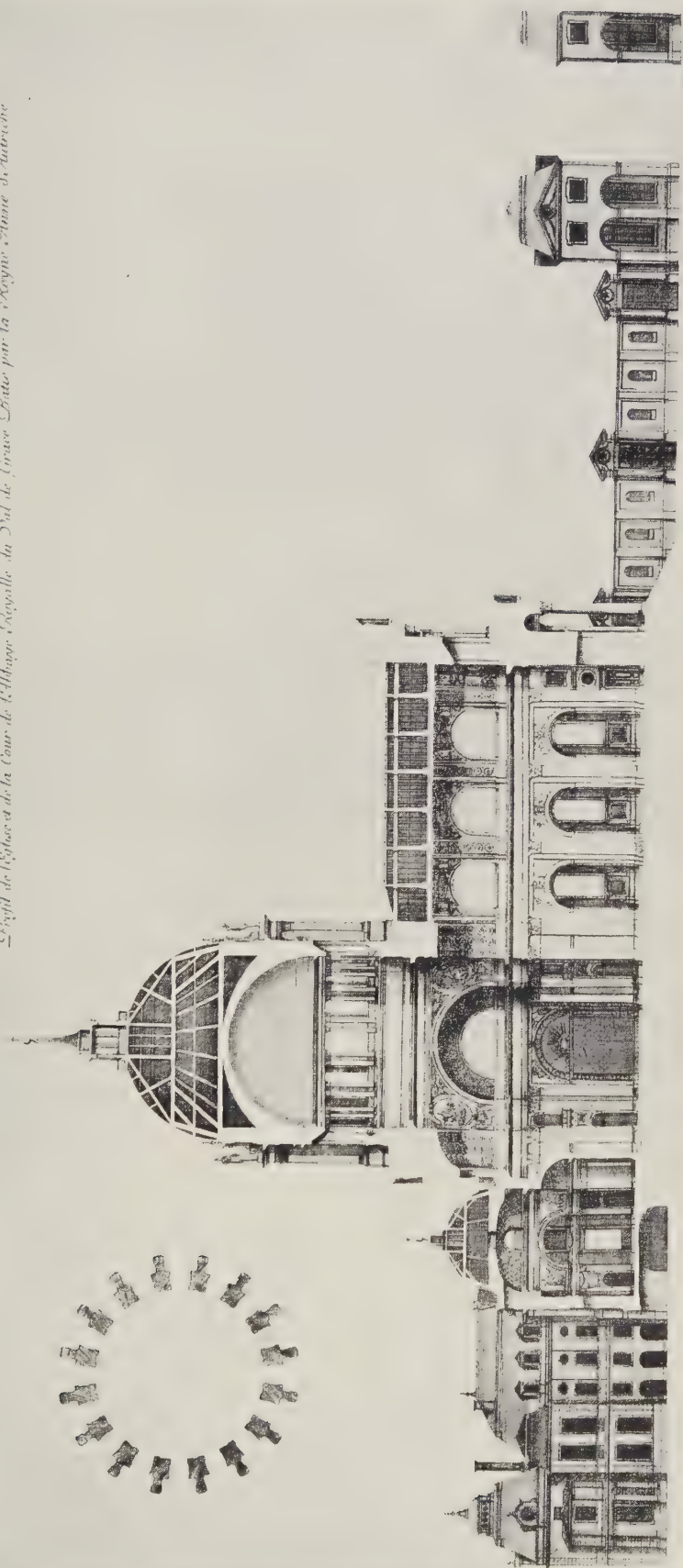
riche pensée.”¹ Mansart is not the only architect who has suffered from the attacks of jealous rivals, and these statements may be dismissed at once as interested and malicious libels. It is quite evident that he was not a man of business. “Cet excellent homme qui contentoit tout le monde par les beaux ouvrages, ne pouvoit se contenter luy-même; il lui venoit toujours en travaillant de plus belles idées que celles où il s’étoit arrêté d’abord, et souvent il a fait refaire deux et trois fois les mêmes morceaux pour n’avoir pu en demeurer a quelque chose de beau, lorsque quelque chose de plus beau se présentoit a son imagination.”² The small portrait of Mansart engraved by Edelinck shows a thin, pensive, rather melancholy face, not unlike that of John Locke, totally different from that of his astute and most successful nephew, Jules Hardouin, as painted by Rigaud, with his full-bottomed wig and his robes of the Order of St. Michael. Refined and sensitive to the last degree, an enthusiast for all that was noblest in his art, François Mansart was nowhere with the unscrupulous adventurers who crowded the French Court in the middle of the seventeenth century. But he laid down the lines of modern French architecture on a sure foundation. “François Mansart,” says Blondel, “may be regarded as the most skilful architect France has ever produced. All the productions of that illustrious man are remarkable for their purity and severity. Few in truth are struck with this kind of perfection. . . . They even regard with a kind of indifference this beautiful simplicity and repose so skilfully produced by our great architects, and are unmoved by that correctness which fixes our reason, satisfies our intelligence, and inspires us with a reasonable and considered veneration for all that is beautiful. Nowadays one regards as an effort of genius an infinite variety of forms and a merely ephemeral frivolity which is called a beautiful disorder. People prefer the difficult, the singular, the extraordinary. But what an abuse of architecture this is. Of all the arts, architecture is the least susceptible of variety. Artists should search deep in the sources of what is truly beautiful, and should recollect that these ancient buildings which have acquired immortality have only done so because they have been recognized as beautiful by competent judges³ throughout all ages.”

¹ “Mansarade, ou l’Architecte Partisan,” 1651, quoted by Laborde, “Le Palais Mazarin.” The inspiration of this attack is obvious.

² Perrault, “Les Hommes Illustres,” ed. 1698, 210.

³ “Personnes d’un vrai mérite et qui sçauroit se préserver de toute prévention” (iii, 50). I have paraphrased Blondel freely in order to get at the gist of his somewhat obscure panegyric.

L'Église de l'Épiscopat de la Cour de l'Église d'Orléans, du Val de Grâce, Bâtie par la Reine Anne d'Autriche



THE CHURCH OF THE VAL DE GRÂCE: SECTION (P. 132)

Mansart stands apart from his contemporaries and even from his successors, able as they were, in the completeness of his art, his sense of scale, his admirable feeling for proportion, and his splendid simplicity of statement. The part that he played in French architecture was that which Inigo Jones played in England, and Peruzzi in Italy. Each of these men was first and essentially an artist, other things only in immaterial degrees. Their qualities were not those that make for immediate success, but they are qualities which, when abler men of affairs have had their day and been forgotten, will make future generations turn again and again to those rare artists who under adverse circumstances have preserved their ideals untarnished to the end.

CHAPTER XX

FRENCH ARCHITECTURE, 1600 TO 1661

THE death of François Mansart closes the third lap in the history of French neo-classic architecture. Although, as I have pointed out, he anticipated several of the characteristic methods of the school of Louis XIV, he himself belongs to the older generation, and his transcendent skill was shown not least of all in the handling of motives such as orders above orders, which were common both to him and to Lemercier, and which were definitely rejected by the best of his successors. Architects were so plentiful in France in the seventeenth century, and architecture was so vital and so progressive, that half a generation makes a perceptible difference. Charles Errard, architect and painter and first director of the French Academy in Rome, was born in 1606.¹ Le Vau,² though a younger man, was almost Mansart's contemporary in regard to his architectural career, Cottart, François Blondel,³ and Anthoine Le Pautre⁴ were some twenty years younger. Some of their work, that of Le Vau in particular, falls within the period dealt with in this history, and Le Vau had become one of the leading architects in France ten years before Mansart died. But these men belong more essentially to the age of Louis XIV. In the latter years of his life Mansart seems gradually to have withdrawn from practice. His exploits at Maisons had cost him the Val de Grâce, and his fastidious standard of attainment and total disregard of economy had frightened the Court, and Le Vau, a far inferior man, superseded him as the fashionable architect. Le Vau began the Hôtel Lambert in 1650, Vaux le Vicomte in 1653, and succeeded Lemercier at the Louvre and Tuileries in 1655. But in spite of these dates, he belongs to the Grand Siècle rather than to the time of Mazarin and Anne of Austria.

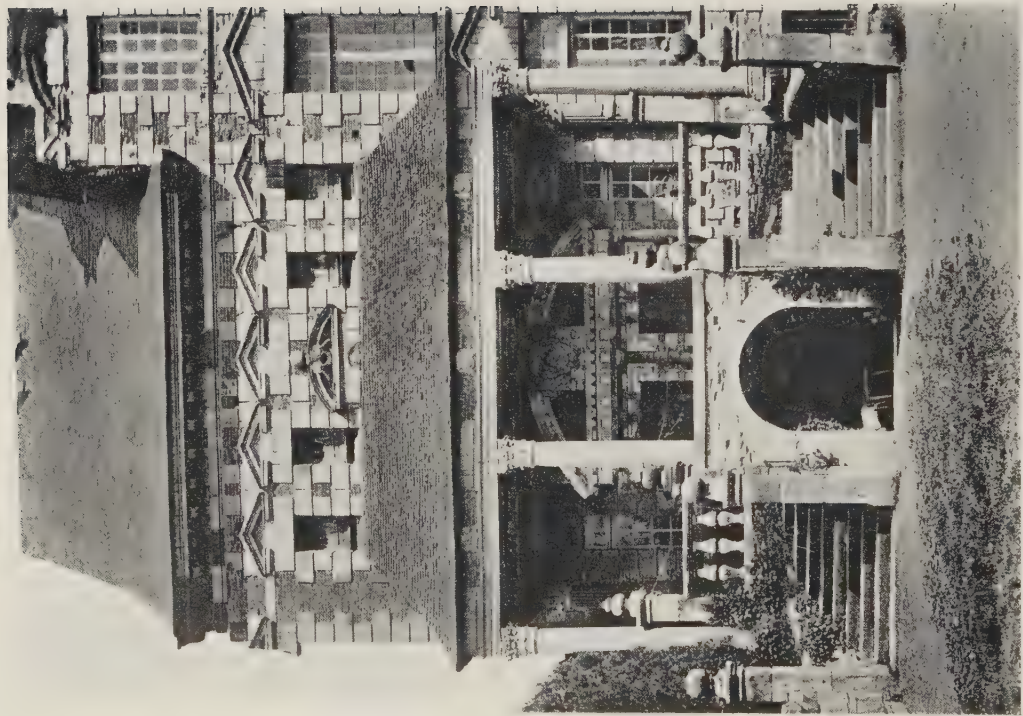
The sixty years or so between the final establishment of Henri IV on the throne of France and the death of Mazarin in 1661, mark a very important period in the history of French architecture. I have pointed out the check in its development due to the wars of the Ligue, and as

¹ Died 1689.

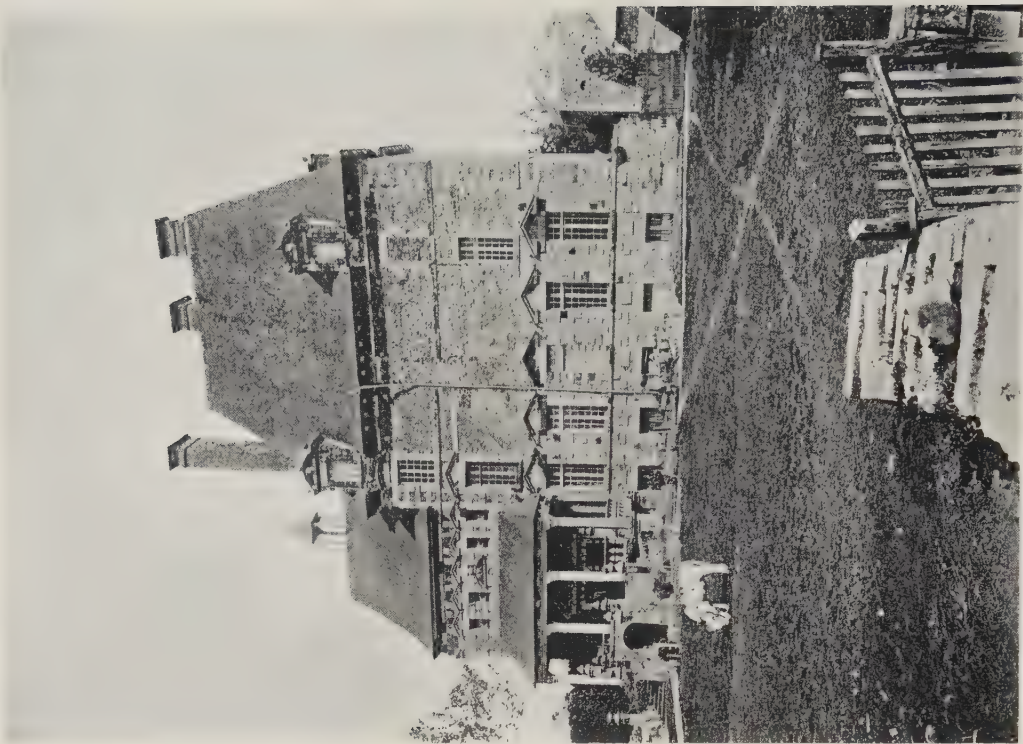
² 1612-70.

³ 1617-86.

⁴ 1621-91.



ENTRANCE AND LOGGIA



GENERAL VIEW

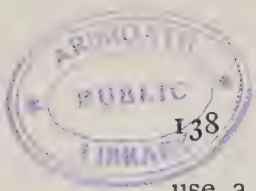
MONTGOMERY DUCEY (P. 139)

the result of these wars the comparative barrenness of the last thirty years of the sixteenth century. The re-establishment of the arts in France was really due to Henri IV. He brought back the Court to Paris, and considering the conditions under which he worked, made the most astonishing progress in the improvement of the civil architecture of the capital. The Place Royale, the Place Dauphine, and the great Place on the north of Paris which was never completed, are landmarks in the history of municipal architecture, and though, judged by the standards of later Paris, they may seem insignificant, it was a remarkable achievement to have conceived of them at all. Moreover, with Henri IV begins the era of the Paris hotels, large and important town houses, planned with some regard for comfort and convenience. The fashion for building was fairly started again, nor was it confined to Paris. After fifty years, during which domestic architecture in the country was more or less at a standstill, the habit of building great country houses was resumed. Richelieu led the way with his new town and prodigious house at Richelieu, followed by such houses as Coulommiers, Pontz, Tanlay, and Chiverney in the Sologne, a complete and, so far as the house is concerned, perfect example of the art of the time. Chiverney,¹ to which I have already referred, was begun about 1634, with gardens on the scale of the house. Félibien speaks of a grand parterre with seventeen figures of "Pierre de lie" standing in the centre, and at the corners of the alleys, "toutes fort belles et de la main de Gilles Guerin de Paris." There were fountains, a circular water-piece, and a canal, and close to the house was a garden house decorated, in his early days, by Nicholas Poussin. All of these have been swept away for the usual "jardin anglais," but the house is an excellent instance of the style of Louis XIII.² Gaston d'Orléans began the rebuilding of Blois, and his wife, Marie de Montpensier, had the house of St. Fargeau in Burgundy remodelled, and the façades to the court refaced with brick and stone.

A characteristic manner had now established itself for the French country house. The flat engaged pilasters of Ancy-le-Franc and Fontainebleau, the orders that the later Valois had used with greater skill and knowledge, the intricacy of De l'Orme, the audacious imaginations of Bullant, were no longer in fashion, and in their place came into

¹ See vol. ii, pp. 50-51.

² M. Fouquier, "Les Grands Châteaux de France," i, 80, speaks of Chiverney as "une style qui atteignit son apogée sous Louis XIV." It is, of course, in a manner that had gone out of fashion long before that date.



FRENCH ARCHITECTURE

use a comparatively plain manner, which depended for its effect on simple spacing and proportions, and limited its ornament to quoins and rustications at the angles and round door and window openings—the manner of Henri IV and Louis XIII. There are many excellent examples scattered about France to which I have already referred. At Vizille in Dauphiné, Lesdiguières, one of the ablest officers of Henri IV, and Duke and Maréchal de France, had a house built for him in this manner on a scale which recalls faint memories of the great days of Anne de Montmorency. The house was begun in 1601, from the designs of the “architects to Monseigneur,” Pierre la Cuisse and Guillaume Lemoine. In 1606 Denis Benoit, painter and glass-maker, was employed to make the windows of the Château, and in 1609 the Duke had a foundry established on the terrace of Vizille to cast the bronze figure for the fountain of the Château. Jacob Richier of Grenoble, who belonged to the family of Ligier Richier, was one of the Duke’s sculptors,¹ and was engaged on the sculpture of the great entrance from 1616 to 1624. In the latter year he received 1,200 livres for a fountain with a figure of Neptune and three sea-horses, and other works at the Château. In the gallery of Vizille the Duke had a series of pictures painted by Antoine Schamart of Brussels, then living at Grenoble, representing his military exploits in the years 1592-7.²

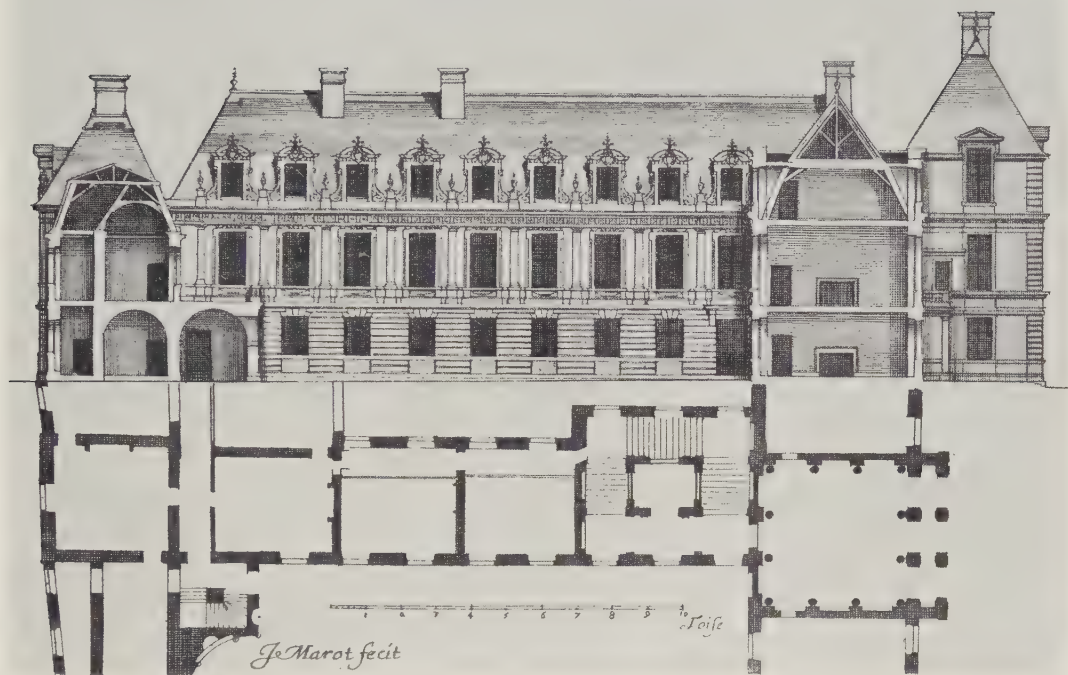
Vizille is an early example of the Henri IV manner. Sully’s house at Rosny, and the house of Nicolas de Jay at Bevilliers Breteuil, both in the Ile de France, were built some twenty years later. There are others in Berri and elsewhere, but the richest districts of France in fine domestic architecture of this period are Burgundy for the first quarter of the century, and Normandy for the thirty years that followed. Beaumesnil, Chambray, Daubeuf, Eu, Miromesnil, Montgomery Ducey, St. Aubin d’Ecroville,³ are all houses of brick and stone, designed in this severe and simple manner, by men who must have been very capable architects; though, with the exception of the architect of Balleroy, the names of none of them have reached us.

¹ “Comme on le voit, Lesdiguières tint à l’honneur d’encourager les beaux arts, il s’était entouré d’artistes distingués, auxquels il accordait les titres honorifiques, en les attachant au nombreux personnel de sa maison quasi-royale” (“Les Artistes Grenoblois,” Maignien, 300).

² Schamart made his contract for the work in 1611, and undertook to follow the topographical drawings of Jean de Bains, Ingénieur Géographique du Roy. Schamart was to receive 150 livres tournois for each picture. In the fire at Vizille, 10th November 1825, all these pictures were burnt, except two, which had been sent to Grenoble for repair.

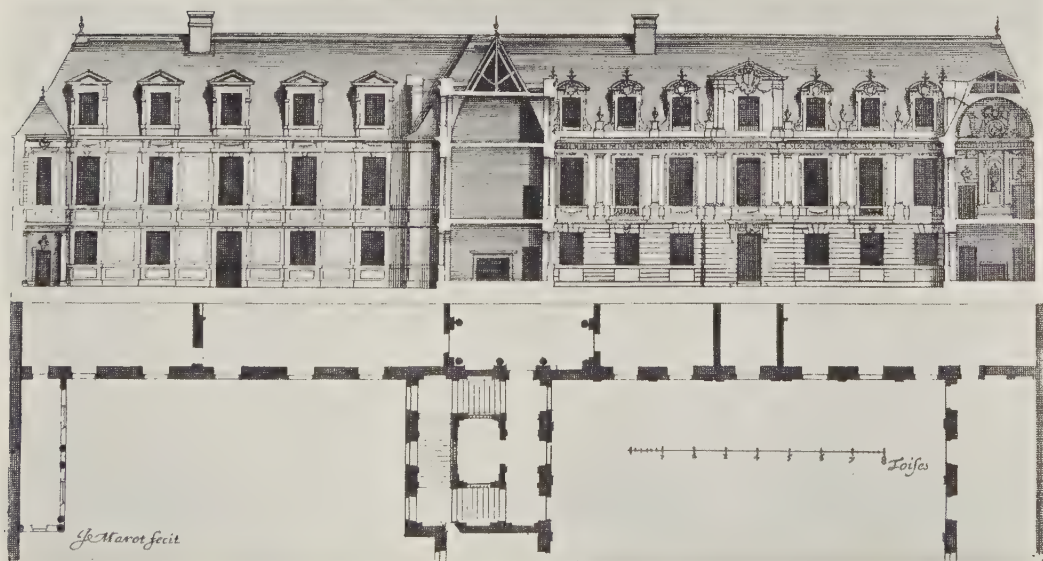
³ These houses are illustrated in M. Fouquier’s series of the photographs of the “Grands Châteaux de France,” but no plans or sections are given.

Profil du costé de la cour de l'Hôtel de Liancourt



[J. Marot

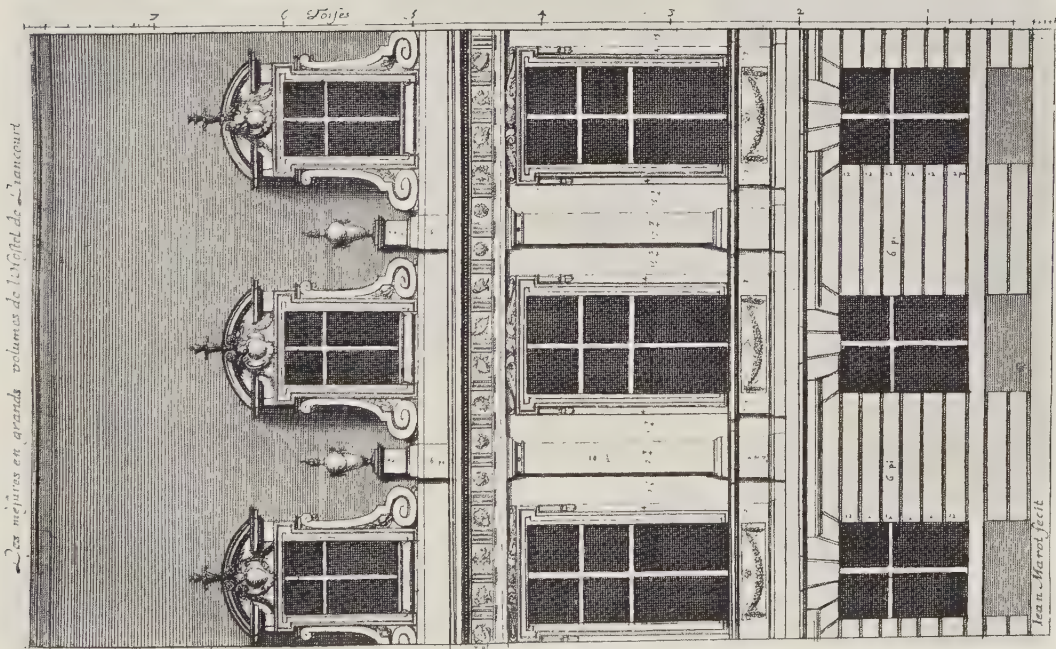
SECTION AND ELEVATION, FORECOURT



[J. Marot

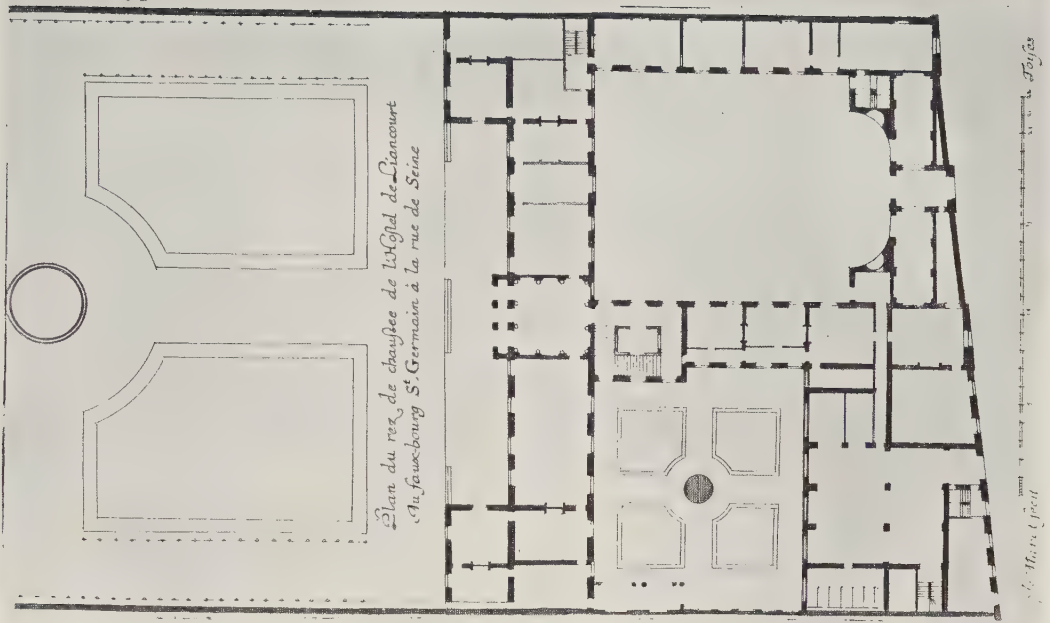
SECTION AND ELEVATION THROUGH FORECOURT AND SIDE GARDEN

HÔTEL DE LIANCOURT (P. 140)



DETAIL INTERNAL ELEVATION

HOTEL DE LIANCOURT (P. 140)



GROUND PLAN

The Château of Eu, begun by Le Balafre, has been so much altered, and so thoroughly "restored" for Louis Philippe, that it possesses little interest for the student. Montgomery Ducey, a few miles south-east of Avranches, is an extremely interesting fragment of an uncompleted house. It was begun by a younger son of the famous Huguenot Montgomery,¹ and now consists of a large rectangular pavilion of stone in three storeys, with an immense roof, apparently part of an older building, and a part only of the central façade, in brick and stone, with a loggia and external staircase of granite and freestone, all mouldings and carving being executed in freestone. The works must have been stopped abruptly, for the upper storey was never built, and part only of the centre façade. Inside, there is a fine open staircase, with square columns carried up to the full height of the staircase at the four angles of the wall, the steps being formed of single slabs of granite bearing on the walls, and a granite string on the side to the well. The beams and joists of the ceilings of the two principal rooms are decorated with figures, fruit, and flowers, somewhat in the manner of Chiverney, but very much ruder. Altogether it is a characteristic example of minor country house architecture of the earlier part of the reign of Louis XIII.

Houses such as Daubœuf and Miromesnil are typical of the country gentleman's house, as apart from that of the great nobleman, and in their way are as complete and perfect examples of the country house as it is possible to find. Daubœuf, as already pointed out, may have been by François Mansart. Miromesnil, attractive as it is, is inferior architecturally to Daubœuf, though more ambitious, and suggests the work of an imitator of Mansart. But the real charm of such houses as these lies not merely in the architecture of the house, but in the noble conception of house and grounds treated as the realization of one central and predominant idea. There is no patchwork here, no aimless eclecticism, such as rejoices itself in the assembly of irrelevant details, but complete unity of purpose and effect. The first intimation of the great house presents itself in some wide opening in the serried line of beeches—provision for the vista and the prospect. The broad road passes between stately avenues to the entrance gates, and so enters the forecourt with stables and offices to right and left, and the house itself on the further side of the court, the climax and conclusion of a scheme of ordered design that whispered the first suggestion of its

¹ Gabriel, Comte de Montgomery, who fatally wounded Henri II in a tournament in 1559, and was captured and executed at Domfront by the Maréchal de Matignon in 1574.

presence far away out in the country. Breadth of treatment, repose and dignity, with just a hint of hauteur in their isolation from the humbler world, these are the qualities that give their peculiar and characteristic charm to such houses as Miromesnil and Daubœuf, and that suggest a country life such as is still to be found in England, and such as must have existed in France before Louis XIV sapped the vitality of his kingdom by subordinating everything to the splendour of his Court.

The point, however, on which the connoisseurs of the seventeenth century prided themselves, was not so much the improvement in the exterior of palaces and houses as the great advance in house planning and decoration. Sauval, writing rather wildly, says that fifteen years before, such houses as the Hôtels de Soissons, de Lesdiguières, de Chevreuse,¹ de Guemené, de Chaulnes, de Sully, de Liancourt, d'Effiat, d'Aumont, de St. Paul, de Jars, le Petit Luxembourg, d'Hesselin, de Deshameaux, d'Astry, de Lambert, de Monsoreau, and others, were considered "the last efforts of luxury," whereas when he wrote, no one would dare to compare them with those of Mortemar, and Aubert, or that of Amelot de Bézeuil "every part of which glitters with gold and azure," or with many other hotels belonging to those "avortons de fortune, que les concussions et le brigandage ont comblés de biens." Sauval incidentally was tilting at such men as D'Emery, De Longueil, and Fouquet, at a time when the State was being robbed in all directions. Throughout this memorable fifty years ministers helped themselves as they pleased to the State resources, and there was no serious attempt at reform till Colbert swept Fouquet from his place of power and re-organized the finances of the country. It was only under such a system as this that Richelieu and Mazarin could literally spend millions on their palaces, that De Longueil could build and rebuild Maisons, Fouquet pay the cost of Vaux le Vicomte, or that the President d'Amelot de Bézeuil could make his house at Paris glitter with azure and gold. Everyone who could manage it was building in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the wealth of examples still existing in Paris is not always realized. Hidden away in the back streets of the Marais, turned to base uses, concealed by advertisements, blocked up by litter and packing cases, the remains of

¹ The one in the Rue St. Honoré, sold by the Duchesse de Chevreuse to the Duc d'Epéron, not the Hôtel designed for her by Le Muet. Sauval's generalization is very unsound, for he classifies a house such as the Hôtel de Sully with mature work such as the Hôtels d'Aumont and de Jars.

their stately dignity are still to be found by the careful student, melancholy relics of the brilliant life of Paris, when Anne of Austria was Regent, and the Duchesses and the Coadjuteur never failed to keep the town in a state of ferment. One writer has put the total number of the Paris hotels at over six hundred.¹ Sauval's list numbers over three hundred and fifty, and the number is explained by the fact that, in spite of the lead given by Henri IV in the Place Royale, and the Place Dauphine, the custom of building houses in rows had not yet been introduced. Each owner built his hotel as an independent building in its own grounds, and on its own merits.

Of the improvement in planning that had taken place between 1600 and 1661, there can be no doubt. The curious thing is that French writers should, with one accord, have attributed it to a lady, Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet. Laborde described Madame de Rambouillet's work generally as that of having got rid of "la brutalité féodale." The great house of the end of the sixteenth century still consisted of one or two large state rooms, with ante-chambers open to the public, a gallery, perhaps a chapel, one or two cabinets, sombre staircases ill lit and dangerous, arrangements suitable for no other purpose than that of state receptions. The great rooms were cold and draughty, paved with tiles, stone, or marble quarries, there was no privacy except in the bedrooms, and not much there except within the enclosures of the gigantic bedstead, forming a little room to itself,² and sometimes measuring as much as 12 ft. by 11 ft.³ If a bathroom was provided, it was more or less inaccessible. When Anne de Montmorency was rebuilding Chantilly, he put the bath in a separate building in the garden, and even this was an innovation at the time. The furniture was rich in ornament, but stiff and uncomfortable. The Marquise de Rambouillet, who was a clever woman, seems to have seen that these arrangements might be much improved, that private rooms should be provided as well as public, that service staircases were indispensable, that cabinets de toilettes, salles des bains, and the like, ought to be near bedrooms instead of at the other end of the garden, that the cavernous chimney openings of the sixteenth century took all

¹ The Count d'Aucourt, "Les Anciens Hôtels de Paris."

² See Laborde, "Le Palais Mazarin, et les habitations de ville et de campagne au dix-septième siècle," Paris, 1845, 323, 324, for some curious anecdotes. Saint-Simon describes how on the morning after his marriage, his duchess received her visitors, seated in her bed, together with all the marriageable young ladies of the Court.

³ Sauval says a bed 6 ft. by 6 ft. was called a "couchette," but when it measured 8 ft. 6 in. by 11 ft. 6 in. or 11 ft. by 10 ft. or 11 ft. by 12 ft., it was called a "couche."

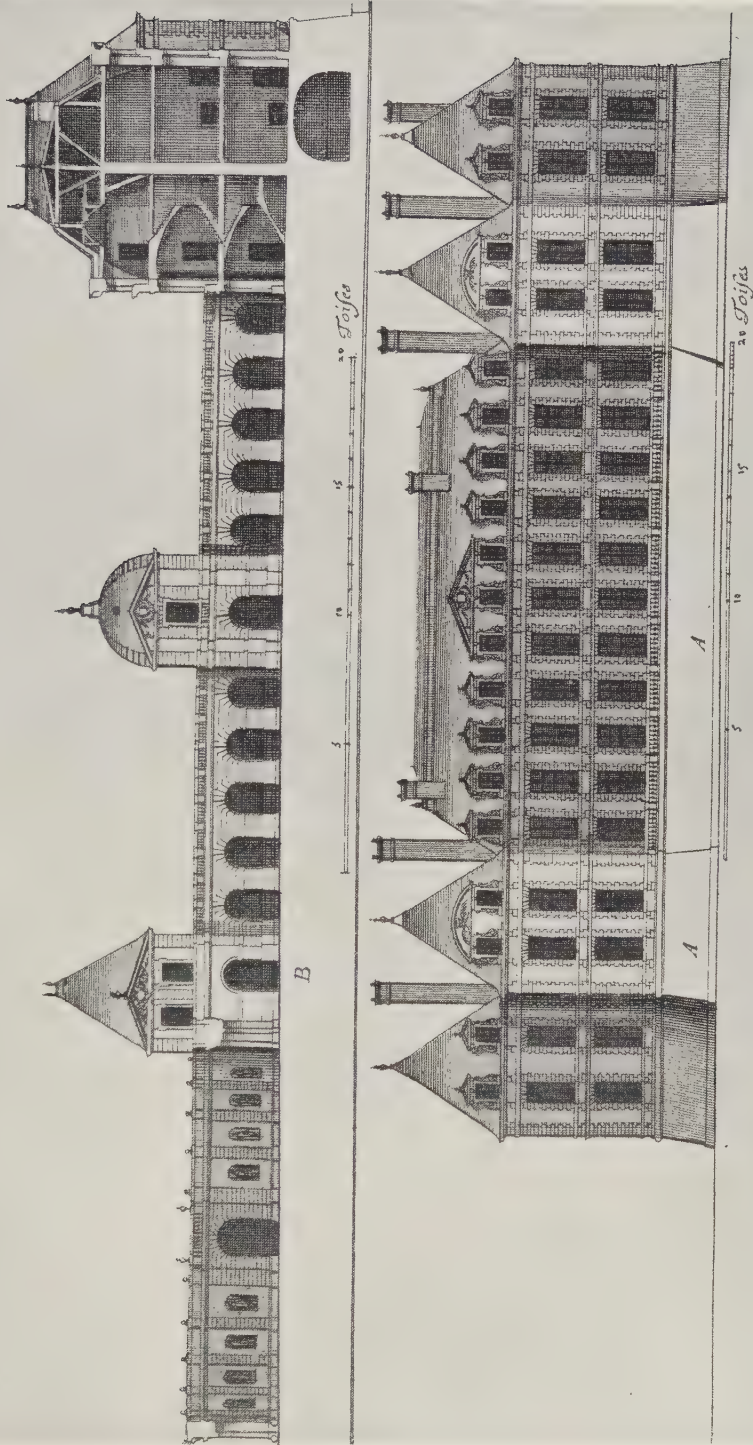
the heat up the chimney when they did not let all the smoke back into the rooms, and when the Hôtel de Rambouillet was to be built she endeavoured to realize these ideas. Laborde's statement, which has been frequently repeated, rests on the authority of Sauval, and a passage in the *Memoirs of Tallemant des Réaux*, that gossiping and most scurrilous writer who seems to have spent his leisure in writing libellous notes on his contemporaries. Des Réaux, for once in a way, had a sincere admiration for the Marquise de Rambouillet, and seems to have accepted her at her own valuation. The Marquise, who was a daughter of the gallant Marquis de Pisani, and an heiress, on her mother's side, of the Savelli family, was of course the lady who established the Salon of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, the "Parnasse Français," which for five and twenty years or more was the headquarters of all the most brilliant literary men in Paris.¹ She herself was known as Arténice, and was the Cléomire of the "grand Cyrus" of Mlle. de Scudéry. In such highly rarefied atmosphere something very superior was to be looked for. Des Réaux has a pleasing story of youthful genius, and describes how the Marquise, discontented with the design proposed for the Hôtel Rambouillet, suddenly called for drawing-paper, and then and there made the design of the house, which was followed in every detail, "c'est d'elle qu'on a appris à mettre les escaliers a costé," (that is, in an angle of the court) "à exhausser les planchers, et à faire des portes et des fenêtres hautes et larges et vis-a-vis des autres." She was also the first, he adds, to paint her

¹ From about 1624 to 1648. Piganiol de la Force, ii, 350, quotes a poem comparing the house of the Muses to the Hôtel Rambouillet.

"De gens choisis, un petit nombre,
Comme à l'hôtel de Rambouillet,
Y vient, non pour jouer à l'ombre,
A la Bassette, au Lansequenet,
Mais tenir cercle, et tabouret.
Et chacun y fait là la figure
Ou de Balzac, ou de Voiture,
Ou de tel autre bel esprit
Que cet Hôtel mit en crédit."

The Marquise was helped by her daughter, Julie d'Angennes, a lady to whom Des Réaux is much less favourable, and finally by a grand-daughter who, by his description, must have been one of the most detestable little prigs that ever existed. The pace set was too great to last. The effort after purity of style drifted off into pedantry and affectation, and the death blow was given by Molière in "*Les Précieuses Ridicules*," actually played before the Marquise in 1659. The Marquise, who was born in 1588, was married when twelve years old, to Charles d'Angennes, Marquis de Rambouillet, who is described by Des Réaux as a man of more idiotic obstinacy than any one he had ever known.

A. Elevation du derrière du Château de Tours
B. Profil du Château de Tours



J. Marot

CHÂTEAU DE TOURS (P. 145)

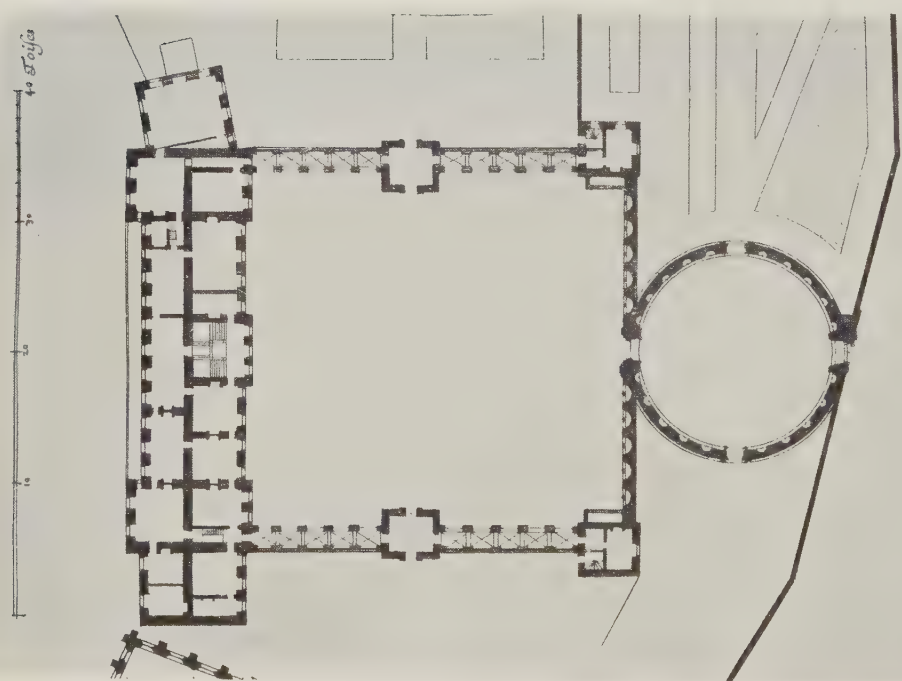


Face de l'hôtel de Monsieur le Chancelier Seguier

L. Marot, fecit

J. Marot

HÔTEL SEGUIER (P. 60)



Plan du Chateau de Touars appartenant au Duc de la Frimouille

J. Marot fecit

TOUARS

CHÂTEAUX DE TOUARS AND MAISONS (pp. 145, 146)

MAISONS



Plan du Chateau de Maison appartenant au President de Maison

rooms blue instead of red.¹ So far, the foundation for this large claim to genius in architecture seems slender. We have known architects of the present day who have painted their walls black where others paint them white, but they have not based their claim to original genius on this particular nuance. Sauval says that he was informed that “elle en a fait et donné le dessein, qu'elle seule l'a entrepris, conduit et achevé,” and adds “son goût fin et savant tout ensemble a découvert à nos architectes des agrémens, des commodités et des perfections ignorées même des anciens, et que depuis ils ont répandu dans tous les loges propres et superbes.”² Unfortunately the hotel was destroyed in the eighteenth century, and there are no plans of it in either Marot or Blondel. Sauval's description is the only evidence available, and that is very obscure, for he talks of the garden being to the left of the court as you enter and visible from every part of it, but goes on to say that from the court you pass, on the left, into a base-court provided with all sorts of conveniences, and therefore interrupting the view of the gardens from the forecourt. The principal staircase was contained in a circular compartment, and gave access to a range of rooms arranged *en suite*, with doors opposite each other. The house as usual was built of brick and stone.

An analysis of Sauval's description reveals no single genuine innovation. The exterior was in the well-known manner that Henri IV had followed in the Place Royale. Philibert de l'Orme had designed his memorable oval staircase at the Tuileries years before the Marquise de Rambouillet was born. Rooms had been arranged *en suite* in hundreds of houses, in fact it was one of the worst faults of the domestic architecture of that time that no separate access by halls and corridors was provided for the different rooms. Staircases in the angles of the courts and odd little service staircases had been in common use throughout the sixteenth century, at Chambord there are several; and devices for private rooms far more ingenious than anything that is supposed to have existed at the Hôtel de Rambouillet had been worked out for François I at the Château de Madrid. There is simply no evidence worth the name to support the legend of the reform of architecture by the Marquise de Rambouillet. All architects of experience know how much they can learn from the taste and in-

¹ Tallemant des Réaux, “Les Historiettes,” ii, 262, but he was inaccurate as usual, for Sauval says that this room, frequently referred to by Voiture, was hung with blue velvet trimmed with gold and silver.

² Sauval, ii, 200.

dividuality of their clients, and there can be no doubt that the Marquise was original enough to have views of her own as to the decoration and general arrangements of her house, and able and determined enough to see that they were as far as possible carried out. But to lay it down that a young lady of twenty-two,¹ with some little accomplishment in drawing, revolutionized the great and slow moving art of architecture, *ex mero motu suo*, is asking too much of the credulity of historical students. Molière bitterly remarked,² "Les gens de qualité savent tout sans avoir rien appris." The Marquise de Rambouillet's claims to architectural genius rest on no better foundation.

In point of fact an examination of the plans of seventeenth-century houses shows no very marked change in house planning till after the middle of the century, and the progress is from De Brosse and Du Cerceau (Jean), through Le Muet and Mansart, to such skilful and ingenious planners as Cottart and Anthoine le Pautre, the consideration of whose work I must reserve for a future study. De Brosse's plan for the Luxembourg, so far as the interior was concerned, was rudimentary. The rooms were reached through one another, the grand staircase in the centre of the main block only communicated with the rooms right and left, and had to be eked out with four service staircases to the main block, and two more in the pavilions of the front. If De Brosse drew his ideas from the Hôtel de Rambouillet, as the story went, the only conclusion possible is that the convenience and improvements of the latter have been very greatly exaggerated. Considerations of convenience hardly entered into his plan at all. With him the problem was to produce a few good rooms and a stately exterior, and the arrangements of his plan appear to have been dictated by the exigences of his elevation. If a recess was wanted, the pavilions were advanced, if it was desired to detach the pavilions the intervening buildings were kept low. In any case symmetry was an axiom to be complied with at whatever cost. Much the same criticism applies to Lemercier's plan of Richelieu, a house of single thickness round three sides of a court, less of a house than a series of suites. Separate kitchens, for example, were provided for the King's suite of rooms, and for the Queen's, with a separate kitchen right away at the end of one wing and next the chapel, for the Cardinal's suite. The inconvenience and waste of service

¹ Tallement des Réaux says that when Marie de Médicis was considering the building of the Luxembourg, she told her architects to go and study the Hôtel de Rambouillet. The latter must, if the story is true, have been built before 1613.

² "Les Précieuses Ridicules," Scene x.

must have been infinite, and it is a standing wonder how any hot dishes from the kitchen ever reached the dining-room in any tolerable condition at all. Pontz in Champagne, an early work by Le Muet, is not very much better, and is inferior in plan to that of Touars belonging to the Duc de la Tremouille, designed by an unknown architect,¹ possibly Le Muet. A study of plans of the first half of the seventeenth century proves conclusively that the real improvement in domestic architecture did not, in fact, take place till several years after the date of the supposed inspiration of the Marquise de Rambouillet. Sully's house, for example, in the Rue St. Antoine, was built a few years after the dates of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and the plan is still immature. There were three supplementary staircases in this house, and something like a passage is shown in the left hand wing, but it deprived two of the rooms of anything but a borrowed light. The real and far-reaching change in house planning came when architects grasped the idea of smaller and subordinate courts for light and air, instead of simply stringing out their rooms round three sides of a large courtyard. This device, which became so characteristic a feature in later seventeenth-century house planning was not, I think, introduced till some twenty years after the date of the work at the Hôtel Rambouillet, when Jean du Cerceau designed the Hôtel de Bretonvillers in the Ile St. Louis. This house was planned with a base-court as well as a Court of Honour, and in one corner of the plan an area for light and air to a staircase and an adjoining room was provided, I believe for the first time. We have here the essential features of the plan of the town house of the middle of the seventeenth century, the forecourt or Court of Honour screened off from the street, the base-court for the offices, the grand staircase with its vestibule, the supplementary staircases, and the areas for light and air. Architects were learning two things, first, that comfort and convenience are not less essential to a house than symmetry and a stately façade, and secondly, that their clients were no longer to be bound down to one standard type of house, regardless of individual wants, and that it was their business to adapt their designs to the conditions of each particular case. Whereas, hitherto, the attention of designers had been concentrated in the first instance on the actual ornament, and the elevations of their buildings, house architecture had advanced so far that a house was now treated as an organic whole, in which plan, section, and elevation were inseparably bound up with each other, and the three are to be taken together as a solution of complex conditions

¹ The plan and elevation come next after Pontz in the *Petit Marot*.

of social life and temperament. The plan of Mansart's design for the house of the Commandeur du Jars as compared with the plan of the Hôtel de Sully shows how great and how rapid had been the advance of domestic architecture in the first fifty years of the seventeenth century. His plan of Maisons is not less remarkable for its extraordinary finesse and control of the conditions and methods necessary for the display of noble architecture inside the house as well as outside.

Of municipal architecture during this period, the parliament house of Rennes, and the town halls of La Rochelle, Lyons, and Troyes, are conspicuous examples. The Town Hall of La Rochelle, to which I have already referred, was completed in 1606. It is a building of some importance, but of no great architectural merit, and it has been abominably restored. The Hôtel de Ville of Troyes was begun in 1625,¹ from the designs of a certain Louis Noble. The work was suspended till 1655, when it was resumed for a short time, but the building was still unfinished in 1665, when it was handed over to Cottart, who completed it in 1670. The Town Hall of Lyons was perhaps the most considerable effort of its kind in France in the seventeenth century, and the history of its building throws an interesting sidelight on the relations of the provinces to Paris in matters of art. As a rule the provincial pursued his course without thought or care for what they were doing in the capital. The Breton used his granite unmoved by the feats of masonry possible with the freestones of the Ile de France. The Norman adhered to his brick and stone. The designers of Burgundy and Dauphiné still forced the note with their exuberant detail as they had done from time immemorial. Grenoble had its academy of drawing and painting, founded in 1654,² its family of builder architects in the Alluys, its sculptors, founders, painters, and metal-workers. Dijon and Toulouse were important provincial centres, tenacious of their own tradition. Lyons itself, the birthplace of De l'Orme, the rival in culture almost of Paris in the sixteenth century had its famous architects, Desargues at Paris, and De la Valfenière at Lyons, the latter much in favour with the clergy, and the designer of the Chartreuse of Ville-neuve les Avignon, the episcopal Palace of Carpentras, and the enormous Abbey of the Benedictines de Saint Pierre at Lyons, now the picture-gallery. Yet, when the authorities of Lyons decided to build their new Hôtel de Ville, they passed over de la Valfenière,³ and

¹ Amedée Aufauvre, "Troyes et ses Environs," 121.

² "Les Artistes Grenoblois," by Ed. Maignien, 327, 330.

³ See "Les de Royers de la Valfenière," by Leon Charvet, Paris, 1870.

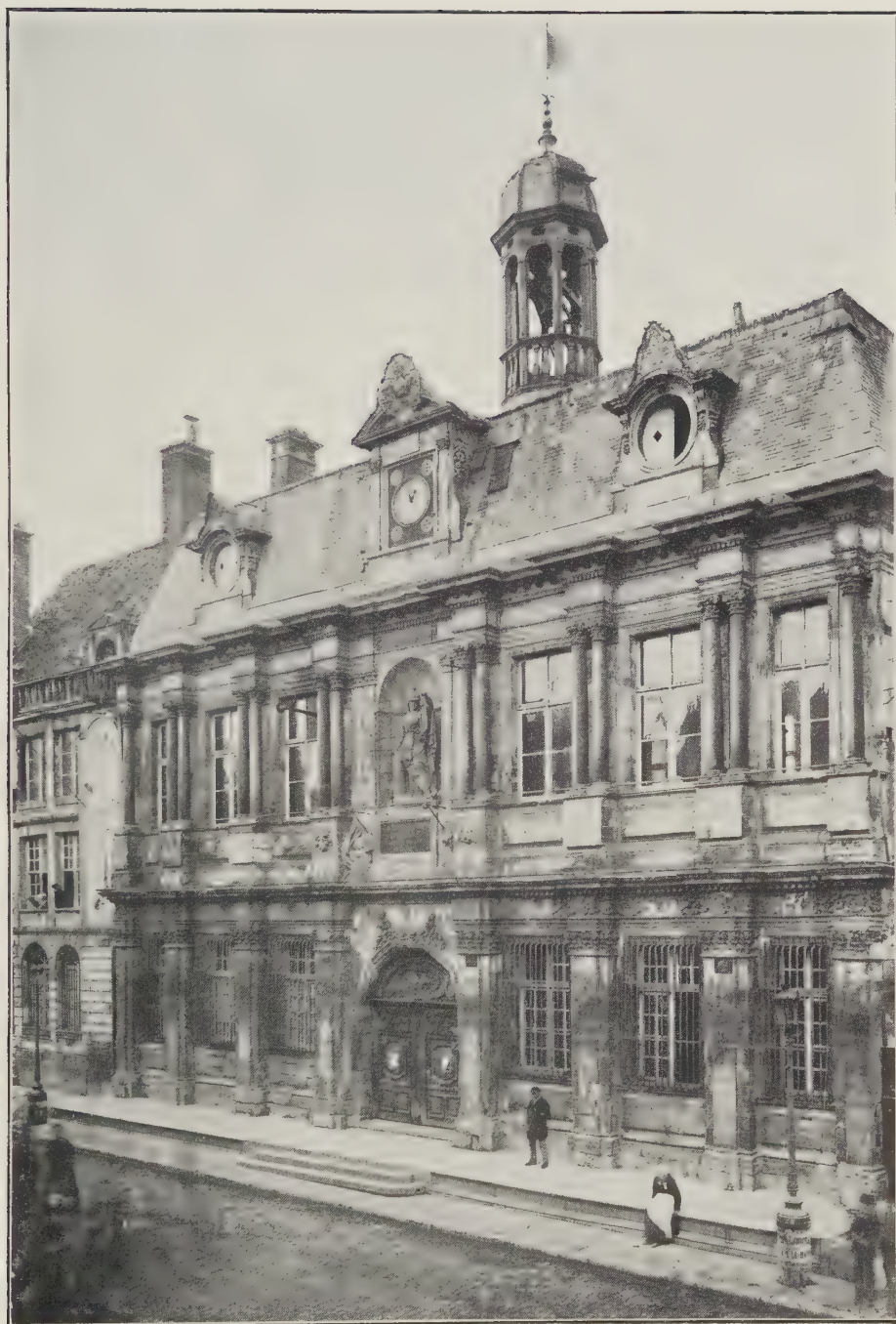
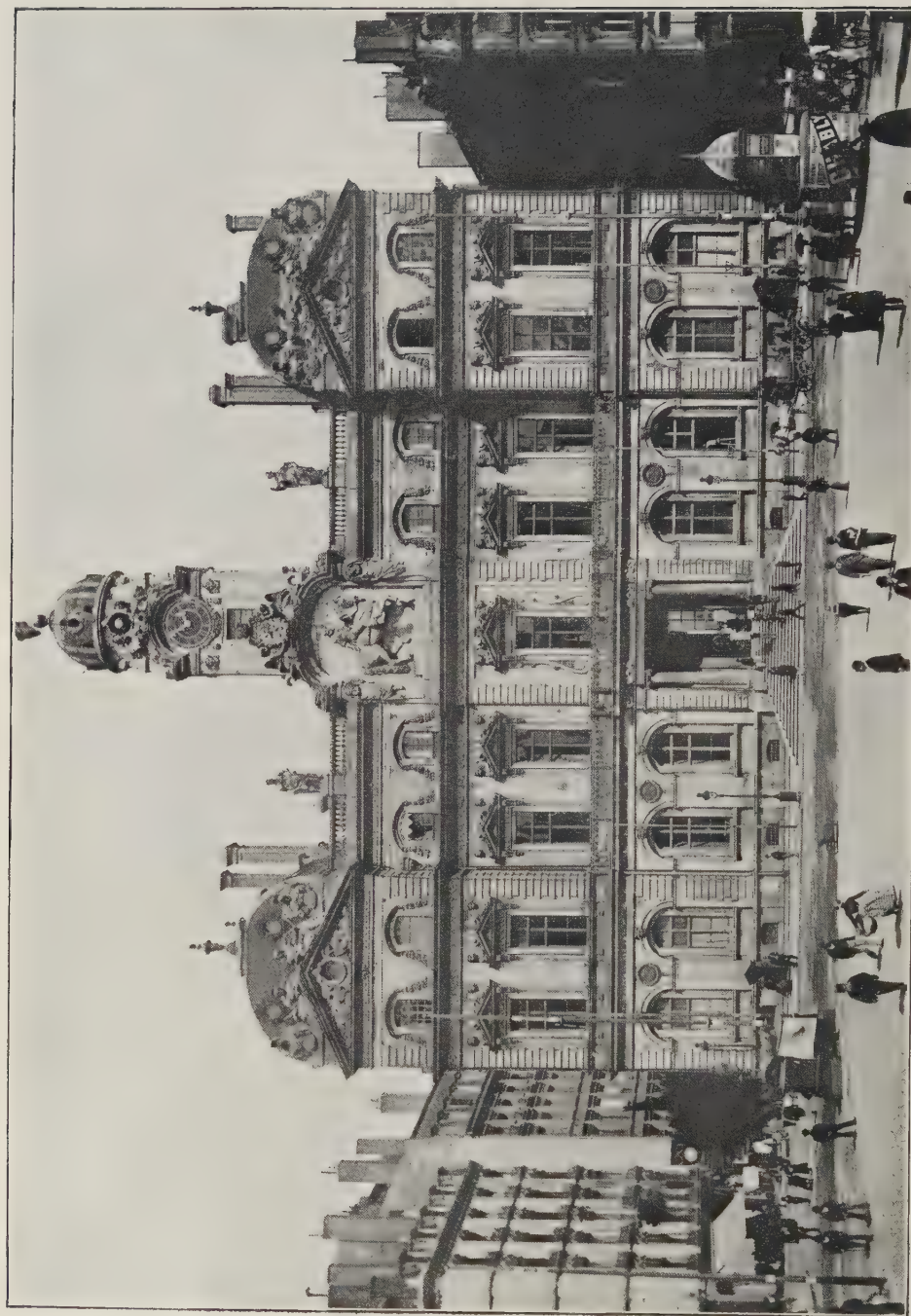


Photo.]

[*Mon. Hist.*

HÔTEL DE VILLE: TROYES (P. 146)



[N. D. photo.]

HÔTEL DE VILLE: LYONS (P. 147)

placed the matter in the hands of Simon Maupin, the town surveyor, but finally from some uneasy feeling that better things might be possible, referred the matter to Paris. In 1646 the magistrates decided that their present town hall was inadequate for a community "de la qualité de celle de ceste dicte ville," and that a new building was necessary, the site was bought and plans were to be obtained from Simon Maupin the surveyor, and certain other architects, and Maupin was then to proceed to Paris with the plans in order to consult with the most expert architects of Paris, and more particularly with the *Sieur Desargues* "très entendu en faict d'architecture."¹ Meanwhile designs had been prepared by Lemer cier and Desargues, and the opinion of the Marquis de Villeroy, Governor and Lieutenant-General of Lyonnais, Forez, and Beaujolais was invited.

The Town Council favoured Desargues, Villeroy preferred Lemer cier, meanwhile there was the town surveyor in the background, biding his time. What actually passed is obscure, but the probability is that Lemer cier was paid off,² that the designs of Desargues, faulty as it was in many respects, was adopted, and that it was carried out by Simon Maupin, who misinterpreted much of the detail, made the front entrance too narrow, and who was finally dismissed from his office in 1661.³ Throughout the works the *echevins* had constantly taken matters into their own hands, and one can well understand the tradition that Maupin died of *chagrin* in 1668. The building was completed with all its decoration, painting, and sculpture by the year 1672, the total cost up to that date had been 2,500,000 livres tournois, estimated by Desjardins to be equal to at least ten millions of francs in modern money, and probably a good deal more. It was an immense enterprise in those days for a provincial city, however wealthy. Within two years of its completion the building was gutted by a terrible fire which broke out at midday on 13th September 1674, and burnt till the following morning. The Town Council were utterly disheartened, no considerable repairs were undertaken till the year 1700, when Jules Hardouin

¹ "L'Hôtel de Ville de Lyons," Tony Desjardins, Paris, 1867. Desargues was born at Lyons at 1593, and died in 1662. He was highly skilled in mathematics and geometry, and was the master of Pascal, who called him "un des plus grands esprits de ce temps." In architecture he was chiefly concerned with the subject of masonry, and is said to have designed some wonderful staircases at Lesdiguières' house of Vizille, in the Palais Cardinal at Paris, and elsewhere.

² He only received 106 livres for his design.

³ A full description of the Town Hall is given in the monograph by Tony Desjardins, who "restored" the building between 1857 and 1866 at a cost of another 2,500,000 francs.

Mansart sent De Cotte to Lyons, with his designs for the restoration of the Hôtel de Ville. Desjardins says that De Cotte, who was a fine gentleman as well as an architect, came to Lyons with his clerk and his valet, and declined to receive any payment from the Town Council. The latter, not to be outdone, sent him a set of hangings of Genoese damask, and a vest of gold brocade, which De Cotte, with the permission of the King, graciously accepted. The Council's "present" cost 2,034 livres, a suggestive contrast to their treatment of the unhappy Maupin, and the 106 livres paid to Lemercier fifty years before. Few buildings have been more unfortunate than the Town Hall of Lyons. Starting with the best intentions, the town authorities blundered badly with the original design. Instead of calling in a competent architect, giving him their instructions, and leaving to him the responsibility for the success or failure of the design, they kept the control of the whole affair in their own hands, for Simon Maupin, with his miserable salary of a few hundred francs, was no man to control them, or take a line of his own. Nor, it appears, was he qualified by his training or abilities to carry out the design, with the result that what may have been a fine conception was spoilt in execution. The Council probably realized their own mistake as the work went on, and vented their irritation in the dismissal of Maupin; and at the end of it all came the great fire with its disastrous closure of all this effort and ambition.

The advance in municipal architecture in the period down to the death of Mazarin was less marked than that in church architecture, on the one hand, and private houses on the other. The systematic reorganization of the State was by no means completed, and great public works and municipal improvements are not very common or important till the following century. The development of church architecture, on the other hand, is one of the most remarkable features of French architecture of the middle half of the seventeenth century. As already pointed out, it was the result of a genuine religious revival,¹ and the Jesuits on their return to France adopted a method of design as part of their system, formulating a type which became and remained paramount in church architecture on the Continent down to the last days of the old tradition of neo-classic. Two elements went to form this type, in the first place the necessities of the Jesuit ideal with its conception of a world-wide standard, in the second place the steady drift of the arts

¹ "Négliger les choses religieuses du XVII^e siècle, où les estimer petitement, c'est ne pas comprendre l'histoire de ce siècle, où l'estimer petitement" (Lavis, "Hist. de France," vii, 1, 88).

back to Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century. No trained architect of the seventeenth century could get St. Peter's and the Church of the Gesu out of his head, no sculptor could forget Michael Angelo, no painter could escape the influence of the Caracci. Nicholas Poussin, the one French painter of genius of that time, became a pure Italian in his art, and Bernini throughout the middle of the seventeenth century was, as Laborde has said, dictator of the arts in Europe. The result was inevitable. Church architecture in France was Romanized, and the Jesuits, who lost touch of their early ideals as they gained in political power, took advantage of these tendencies to turn the interiors and the services of their churches into vast pageants, far too sumptuous in decoration and unconvincing in their theatricality. François Mansart's splendid design for the interior of the Val de Grâce shows what might have been if Anne of Austria had not lost her nerve, and if the Jesuits had not been allowed to get complete control for the time of the religion of France. The Port Royalists made a brilliant effort to stem the tide and restore a more austere ideal of religion; but Pascal's eloquence and irony were in vain, the Jesuits were irresistible, and left the traces of their influence on every Roman Catholic church in Europe. It was the end, definite and final, of mediaevalism. M. Lavissee has finely summed up the position in the following passage: "Au moyen age, le catholicisme était paré d'art et d'imagination. . . . Il regardait la nature, l'animale, et la plante, et s'en égayait. Il était poète dramatique et poète comique, conteur de légendes, faiseur des saintes. Il dressait, de la terre au ciel, une large échelle où montaient et descendaient les bienheureux. . . . Tout le monde y trouvait son compte, la bonne âme qui lisaient l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament sur les murs ou sur les vitres, . . . et l'âme mystique où éclos la poème de l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ, et le docteur qui discutait sur la montagne Sainte-Geneviève le nominalisme et le réalisme. . . . Toute la vie s'y logea. Mais la Renaissance et la Réforme pénétrèrent dans ce fouillis divin. L'Olympe fit une concurrence heureuse au Paradis, l'esprit de la philosophie antique méprisa la foi naïve et la dénigra. La Réforme raisonna sur les fondemens mêmes de la foi, détruisit le culte, exécrâ l'idolâtrie. Le Catholicisme fit des concessions à la Renaissance et à la Réforme, il se précisa et s'émonda, il fut moins un sentiment, et davantage une doctrine. Or une doctrine n'a pas la force d'un sentiment. Il y eût, au XVIème siècle, un refroidissement de l'amour divin. . . . Et puis encore les lettres et la politique cherchent la raison, la simple, la rectiligne; l'esprit de l'ordre classique et de l'ordre royale pénètre dans la religion."

When Mazarin died and Louis XIV took into his own hands the control of the State, the days of the individualist were over, order and subordination were to be the keynote of the "grand siècle," and that spirit was to be reflected in the official architecture of the time. The period from the accession of Henri IV to the death of Mazarin had witnessed an extraordinary advance. One has only to compare the Church of the Val de Grâce with that of St. Eustache to realize that French neo-classic architecture has reached its maturity. That the last word has yet been spoken is, of course, far from being the case. All the labours of French artists, the crude efforts of the pioneers under François I, the enthusiasm of Bullant and De l'Orme, the experiments and caprices of the Du Cerceau, the solid industry of De Brosse and Lemercier, the ability of Le Muet, the genius of François Mansart, paved the way for the splendid achievements of French architecture under Louis XIV, and in the eighteenth century. Rank after rank of able architects stands beyond. Errard, Le Vau, François Blondel, Le Pautre, Dorbay, Claude Perrault, Le Notre, Bullet, Jules Hardouin Mansart, Boffrand, De Cotte, the Gabriels, Blondel the younger, Heré, Soufflot, Chalgrin, and Servandoni, I take the names at random out of the long list of capable French architects of the reign of Louis XIV and the eighteenth century. If the high-water mark of French neo-classic architecture in its purest form is reached in the work of François Mansart, there were men among his successors who ran him close. But there is the difference between the man who leads the way and the man who follows. For the ten years following the Fronde there was a temporary pause in development, but the elements of the architecture of Louis XIV were latent in the design of François Mansart. He brought to perfection the weapons which his successors were to use. He consolidated that tradition, slowly built up and tenaciously maintained, to which France was to owe her supremacy in architecture in the eighteenth century.

We have reached the half-way house, and here for the present I must leave this great subject. The immense expansion of the arts in the period that follows their re-organization under the masterful genius of Colbert, the triumph of architecture and its gradual failure in the eighteenth century, are matters far too important in the history of art to be dealt with in any summary way. I have only traced the progress of architecture in France down to the death of Mazarin, but there is no real break at this point. The path of its development stretches far ahead, and its long descent goes back generation behind generation to



[L. P. photo.]

THE CHURCH OF THE VAL DE GRÂCE: PARIS (P. 149)

the distant days of François I, even to the master-builders and the ornamentalists. Through all these successive stages neo-classic architecture had been winning its way in France. Generation after generation had made its contribution to the art, and after years of effort and experiment a tradition had been built up on a secure and lasting foundation. The predominance of France in European architecture was assured for the eighteenth century; and that splendid tradition of design might have lasted unbroken to this day had it not been trampled underfoot by the brutal pedantry of the French Revolution.

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